Spring 5-15-2020

ALL CULTURES MATTER: RACHEL DAVIS DUBOIS, THE INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AND GROUP CONVERSATION METHODS

Charles Hight

ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, All CULTURES MATTER: RACHEL DAVIS DUBOIS, THE INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AND GROUP CONVERSATION MOVEMENTS by CHARLES LAMONT HIGHT, was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Advisory Committee. It is accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, in the College of Education & Human Development, Georgia State University.

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CHARLES LAMONT HIGHT

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ALL CULTURES MATTER: RACHEL DAVIS DUBOIS, THE INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AND GROUP CONVERSATION METHODS

by

CHARLES LAMONT HIGHT

Under the Direction of Chara Haeussler Bohan Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

In this research, I detail the professional life of Rachel Davis DuBois, with particular attention to her creation of the Woodbury Project and her work with the Intercultural Education Movement. Employing historical and biographical research methods, DuBois' archival materials at the University of Minnesota aided my exploration of the educational movement that DuBois was instrumental in establishing in the 1930s and that continued into the 1950s in the United States. In particular, DuBois founded the Service Bureau of Intercultural Education, where she designed several workshops to educate teachers on the curriculum and discussion methods of Intercultural Education. The goal of the movement was to promote understanding and respect between people of different races, ethnicities, and religions. However, DuBois left the bureau in the 1940s due to disagreements over its goals. DuBois' radical views on equality put her at odds

with members of the bureau who favored a “melting pot” education approach that centered on tolerance.

Upon leaving the Bureau of Intercultural Education, DuBois started a new organization called the Workshop for Cultural Democracy. DuBois used the new organization to spread her new Group Conversation Method. The Group Conversation Method used Intercultural Education methods in a wider community effort to bridge ethnic and racial divisions. DuBois taught the Group Conversation Method all around the country between the late 1940s and the 1980s. In the 1960s she led the dialogue training for Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

DuBois’ work had a lasting legacy. By the 1980s, Intercultural Education had evolved into Multicultural Education. Her intergroup dialogue methods are still practiced today. Insights from the Intercultural Education Movement are relevant as racial, ethnic, and religious tensions are widespread in modern American society.

INDEX WORDS: Keywords: Educational Biography, History of Education, Intercultural Education Movement, Race Relations, Gender and Education, Group Conversation

ALL CULTURES MATTER: RACHEL DAVIS DUBOIS, THE INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AND GROUP CONVERSATION MOVEMENTS

by

Charles Lamont Hight

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the

Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Teaching and Learning: Concentration in
Social Studies Education

in

Middle and Secondary Education

in

The College of Education & Human Development

Georgia State University

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the brave men and women who have dedicated their lifes' work to raising the society's awareness to the long term problem of racial and ethnic marginalization. Educators have a unique opportunity to increase intercultural understanding and promote a critical understanding of our shared history.

I also want to make a special dedication to my grandmother Odessa Hudson. She only had a sixth grade education due to the limitations of educational opportunities afforded young black women in the rural South of the 1930's. She was a hard working women who showered me with love and praise while holding me to a high standard.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My career as a teacher began in 200, teaching 3 separate social studies classes in addition to coaching three sports at Hiram High School in Paulding County, Georgia. My teaching career followed a thirteen year span of working at Delta Air Lines. I came into the teacher profession looking to find a greater purpose in life by educating young people.

After graduating from the University West Georgia (UWG) with a BBA in Finance, I began working for Delta Air Lines. While working at Delta, my love for history began to grow and I decided to pursue a history degree after being out of school for 9 years. I attended Kennesaw State University (KSU) and acquired my history degree before going on to Georgia State University (GSU) to obtain my Masters degree. I graduated with a Master of Education in Social Studies and began teaching and coaching at Hiram High School while also adjunct teaching at KSU. I enjoyed the demanding and rewarding job of teaching and coaching for years, before the long held goal of obtaining my Ph.D. finally propelled me to apply to the GSU Middle and Secondary Education, Social Studies Doctorate program.

My dissertation committee has been extremely helpful in the structuring of my dissertation and redirecting my analysis and focus. From the moment I walked back onto the GSU campus to interview for the Ph.D. program Dr. Chara Bohan has been a constant force as advisor, teacher, editor, co-writer and coach. Dr. Joseph Feinberg and Dr. Chantee Earl have been both helpful and encouraging as instructors and counselors. Thanks to Dr. Howard Baker for being an inspiration and a scholar for whom I have the utmost respect. Dr. Zhao, thank you for your support and taking the time to join my committee at short notice. I appreciate the countless number of classmates and friends at GSU that I have met over the past 5 years. Thanks for the advice, the encouragement, and taking the time to proofread a paper or two.

I want to acknowledge the University of Minnesota (UM) Libraries' Department of Archives and Special Collections (ASC). I traveled to Minnesota and the assistance I received while their doing research was invaluable. On two separate occasions, I was able to get valuable documents digitally sent to me upon request. The Rachel Davis DuBois archival collection at UM does a valuable service in preserving DuBois's papers and other important immigration information.

Finally, I want to thank my family, especially my spouse for supporting me and taking care of kids while I was away pursuing a dream. To my wife Crystal and my kids Bethany, Jada, and Nicholas, thanks for being my main sources of inspiration and pride. To my children, I want you to see Dads obtaining this Ph.D. at a middle age, as an example to you that you can achieve in and through education when you put your sincere effort into obtaining it.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The educational biography as a method of inquiry and as a form of qualitative research is an intimate and personalized study of education and its impact on society. In this methodology, the most important figure in education is the classroom teacher or influential scholar. Educational biographies shed light on questions about pedagogical theory, professional growth, ideas on critical theory, and overall educational philosophy. The life and work of Rachel Davis DuBois (RDD) is of special significance because she is a transformative figure in the world of Intercultural Education and inter-racial conflict resolution. Through analysis of archival papers, books, scholarly articles and personal memoirs, this dissertation highlights DuBois's intellectual influences, social justice reform work, her lasting influence on society, and the reasons her pedagogy is still needed in the 21st century.

While looking for interesting transformative figures in education history, I encountered Rachel Davis DuBois while examining Multicultural Education (ME) history and ideas on critical race theory. I have a long-standing interest in the study of racial conflict, and progressive change for all peoples placed on the margins of society by systemic racism, sexism, and xenophobic policies. DuBois's work is increasingly relevant and I desire to call attention to her work to inspire educators to not only teach tolerance, but to foster respect of cultures through planned curriculum and organized discussion and dialogue.

DuBois's life was a journey during which she traveled from fighting conservative melting pot immigration issues of the roaring twenties to working with leaders of Civil Rights Movement during the post-war 1950s. DuBois's work revolved around using personal experience to foster

group discussion. Her sensitivity to the limited freedom and violence directed toward marginalized people was the catalyst for the program she developed known as the Woodbury Project. DuBois' life history is important to understanding the ever-changing debate around education and social justice. Radical ideas are redefined over the course of decades. The Intercultural Education Movement (IEM) and the Group Conversation Method which she helped establish, pushed the envelope to create greater democratic institutions and dialogue across micro-cultures in the United States.

DuBois' educational biography is consequential. Her life's work demonstrates how she embraced an idea and then created a curriculum in which to carry out her ideas. Educators can learn much from historical biographies as they can highlight the importance of little-known individuals who worked to improve society. Craig Kridel argued that educational biographies have become increasingly accepted as relevant to educational research.[1] In a recent book on life writing methods, Mulvihill and Swaminathan include biography as one of five genres of life writing.[2] Nigel Hamilton's *How to do Biography* provides a blueprint for the process of writing biography so that the writing is meaningful.[3] In addition, understanding DuBois's life as a teacher and teacher educator adds to the growing body of scholarship on Progressive Era female educators who worked to improve society; these women include Annie Webb Blanton, Margaret Haley, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Lucy Maynard Salmon, and a host of other women detailed in books such as *Founding Mothers and Others: Women Educational Leaders during the Progressive Era*

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[1] Craig Kridel, "Biographical Meanderings: Reflections and Reminiscences on Writing Educational Biography," *Vitae Scholasticae* 25 (2008): 6.
[2] Mogadime, "Book Review: Critical Approaches to Life Writing Methods in Qualitative Research." *Vitae Scholasticae* 34, no.2 (2017); 127.
[3] Hamilton, Nigel. *How to Do Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 37.

and *"Everybody's Paid But the Teacher": The Teaching Profession and the Women's Movement.*[4]

DuBois left an extensive and impressive archival treasure trove with which to study her influences, and a long record of her work on Intercultural Education. I spent many hours searching the DuBois archives, which are located at the University of Minnesota, as these records are part of a larger archival library dedicated to the study of immigration. In this archival library, DuBois's materials include letters to and from prominent educational leaders; pamphlets that highlight her teaching of teachers; books she authored; curriculum materials; and a plethora of other insightful data. It is from these materials that the researchers learned about the Woodbury Project, the early formation of the bureau for Intercultural Education (IEM), DuBois's Group Conversation work after the Bureau and her later work in the Civil Rights Movement.

This educational biography is unique in that it highlights DuBois as an aggressive advocating progressive whose radicalism was influenced by her religion, life experiences, and wealth of interactions with giants of the progressive community. Her unyielding attempt to push for a vision of equality still placed her to the left of many progressives. DuBois's story is extremely relevant in a time of increasing division and anger over the issues of immigration, race, and ethnicity, as well as inflated partisan polarization.

In his article, "Biographical Renderings", Kridel listed five types of biographies as scholarly biography, intellectual biography, life biography, memoir biography and narrative biography. The scholarly biography focuses on the documentary, historical portrayal of an individual. Intellectual biography focuses on motive, critique, and a conceptual analysis of the subject significance in the world of ideas. The life history is a narrative study of life with its allegiance to

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[4] Hamilton, *How to Do Biography*, 37.

social science research traditions. The memoir biography is the life story being told but in relation to the transactional experiences of the biographer. The fifth and final biography type Kridel named is the narrative biography, which represents a dynamic portrayal of a life without the need for absolute facticity or comprehensive account from birth to grave. He points out that each type of biography is not different in all ways as they share many of the same aspects in revealing the important life's work.[5] I will address the intellectual work of Rachel Davis DuBois primarily using intellectual and life history types of educational biography. The emphasis of this intellectual biographical examination of DuBois will focus on DuBois's innovative social justice educational work in Intercultural Education and the Group Conversation Method. Intercultural Education focused on effective teacher training and the progressive intercultural education of school children. The Group Conversation Method focused on community wide work that emphasized progressive intergroup conversation and cross-cultural sharing to combat racial and ethnic tensions.

The life biography is a chronological narrative at the entire life story told in the tradition of a biography. In telling Rachel Davis DuBois's story, I discuss her early life, and tell the story of many of her encounters with people on her farm and her early educational experiences. I use the first chapter to show her as she matures into a teacher and point out personal influences while highlighting these influences for future understanding of her beliefs as an educator. DuBois's married life is mentioned minimally because her marriage was short and she made a decision early in life to put her life's work ahead of marriage and children.

The second form of biography Kridel mentioned that is used in this dissertation is the intellectual biography. The intellectual biography focuses on the motives, critiques, and overall

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[5] Kridel, "Biographical Meanderings", 6.

analysis of the subjects' ideas and world-wide impact.[6] In studying Rachel DuBois, her intellectual contribution to the pedagogical and social justice progressive movements in the United States is extraordinary and yet greatly unsung. I found it troubling when speaking to many other professors and top intellectuals at educational conferences over the past five years that practically no one knew about the extensive work of Rachel Davis DuBois. In the second year of my doctoral program at Georgia State University, my advisor Dr. Chara Bohan directed me to a narrative pieces called *Building a legacy: Women in Social Sciences 1784-1984* by Margaret Crocco and O.L. Davis, Jr.[7] In this collection of narratives was an article on the life of Rachel Davis DuBois which peaked my interest and I found myself enthralled with her story. I then read additional short narratives and articles on DuBois, and together the stories gave me enough information on my subject that I knew I wanted to highlight the intellectual contributions of Rachel Davis DuBois. She is interwoven throughout progressive history, she knew and touched everyone from Jane Addams to Martin Luther King, Jr. with an impressive list of progressive educators and social justice leaders.

DuBois's life work began when she started a student assembly program at Woodbury High School in New Jersey in 1924. She parlayed that worked with the help from progressive allies into an extensive program of Intercultural Education that spread to other schools in the Northeast and Midwest. She spearheaded the establishment of the Service Bureau of Intercultural Education in 1934 with assistance from Jewish groups and other progressive organizations.[8] She was an advocate of aggressive change and social justice for black Americans and she was

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[6] Kridel, "Biographical Meanderings", 6.
[7] Margaret Smith Crocco and O.L. Davis, Jr. *Building a Legacy: Women in Social Education 1784-1984*, (Maryland: National Council for the Social Studies, 2002).
[8] Rachel Davis DuBois and Corann Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*,(Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Dorrance and Company,1984),3.

brought into the modern Civil Rights Movement as not only an ally, but a working organizer and trainer for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. DuBois promoted her ideas on Group Discussion and used them to address racial conflict and the continual problem of ethnic and immigrant discrimination in the United States. At the conclusion of this educational biography, I argue that moving forward, with immigration continuing to be a political divisive issue, all residents of the U.S can benefit from an educational emphasis on intercultural pedagogy. Leadership by political leaders who openly use existing racial and xenophobic fears against populations of color, has created a fervent need to shed new light on the progressive and intellectual ideas of Rachel Davis DuBois.

DuBois and Birth of a Movement

Immigration has been a hot button issue throughout American history, highlighted by the Alien and Sedition Acts of the late 18th century, the Know Nothing party of the mid-19th century and the Chinese Exclusion of the late 19th century. The early 1900s was largely influenced politically and economically by the arguments being made on the issues of immigration. The immigrant questions were interwoven and complicated by the need for new workers to feed a growing industrialized economy and the challenge of assimilating a large influx of immigrants into a growing nativist population still reeling from the Civil War and an industrialization that made it easier for xenophobic forces to take advantage of racial animosity and fear of economic challenges from immigrant populations.

Fast-forward to early the 21st century and the United States has now been witness to countless examples of the continual challenge of demonization of the other. Depending upon the decade being referred to, the other can be the Poles, Italians, and Jews of the 1920s, the Asians communities from Japan and China from the 1880s thru to the 1940s, the Vietnamese of the mid 70s, the Cubans refugees of the early 1980s and the current group coming from Central America. Pointing at these few groups is a gross simplification of the complex group exclusion practiced throughout the country's immigrant history. Along with these issues that raise nativism and xenophobic fears, there is the every present issue of anti-black sentiment and politics that have survived slavery and the Civil Rights Era. The U.S. is a country forever revealing growing pains and issues with welcoming new peoples from other parts, in contrast to the creeds it claims to hold so dear. The shift in the attitude toward immigration began in the late 1800s in a reaction to the shift in the source of immigration. Up until the 1890s the traditional source of immigration came from Ireland, England, Germany and Scandinavia. For many the creed chiseled into the

base of Statue of Liberty, a centennial present to the U.S. from France, "Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free" was not an open invitation to all.[9]

Theorists of education and democracy, most prominently John Dewey, have argued that extensive debate educates citizens about their own values, even as it informs representatives of their constituent's values.[10] This debate must start with a platform that pushes to educate the citizenry and teaches people about the shared values of the many. It is in this void between the fear of many native masses and the work of immigrant advocate groups, a young Caucasian American Quaker teacher by the name of Rachel Davis DuBois emerged and formed the Intercultural Education Movement through her work in leading class seminars, group discussions, and the creation of a pedagogical approach to teach people to understand the various cultures who populate and share the American dream.

What is Intercultural Education?

In the context of the United States, Intercultural Education (IE) is defined as teaching to foster justice, equality, understanding, acceptance, freedom, and diversity.[11] The term "intercultural" implies "the relationships between and among all racial, religious, ethnic, and social-economic groups, whose patterns of behavior are distinctive in one or another important aspects."[12] Intercultural Education has a substantive historiography; Montalto traced its history.[13] More recently, James and Cherry Banks detail the history of Intercultural Education in the early chapters

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[9] Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*. 4th ed. Vol. 2. (New York: W.W Norton and Com pany, 2004), 650.
[10] Cheryl Shanks, *Immigration and the Politics of American Sovereignty, 1890-1990*. (Ann Arbor: Univer sity of Michigan Press), 2001
[11] Cosmos Novak, "A Survey of Intercultural Education in Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools of the United States." *American Catholic Sociological Review* 10, (October 1949): 159.
[12] Novak, "A Survey of Intercultural Education in Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools," 159.
[13] Nicholas V. Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941,* (New York: Garl land Publishing, 1982).

of *The Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education.*[14] The movement was born out of RDD's attempt to build an educational pedagogy in which to counter the excesses of Red Scare politics, racial demagoguery, political witch hunts, and mass deportations. It was in this climate that organizations such as the Foreign Language Information Service, the International Institutes and other immigrant service agencies gave expression to a growing enlightened impulse and laid the groundwork upon which the Intercultural Education Movement could build. This support, along the encouragement from leading progressive educators such as Harold Rugg and William H. Kilpatrick, enabled DuBois to turn a school-wide assembly program into a nation-wide Intercultural Education Movement.[15]

Intercultural Education includes, in addition to formal classroom instruction: adult education, teacher training, and the work of civic and other organizations in the field of human relations. This educational movement is based on the belief that prejudices are culturally transmitted and that the schools can contribute significantly to intercultural cooperation. The role of education in this regard is to instill in students a healthy respect for the ways of life, customs and beliefs of fellow humans, and to help students realize that cultures different from their own are not thereby inferior.[16] In the United States, Intercultural Education chronologically preceded Multicultural Education, however, in England and several European countries, Intercultural Education was a movement that followed multiculturalism in the late 1990s.[17] Recent European theorists such as David Coulby have criticized the contemporary IEM as its aspirational nature may hide

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[14] James Banks, and Cherry Banks, *The Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education, 2nd ed* (San Fransisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2003).
[15] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, ii–iii.
[16] Novak, "A Survey of Intecultural Education in Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools."160.
[17] David Coulby, "Intercultural Education: Theory and Practice." *Intercultural Education 17*, no.3 (2006): 245-257.

cultural interactions such as genocide, conquest, and the slave trade. Additionally, Intercultural Education may not directly attack white supremacy or acculturation. Yet, the field remains relevant as evidenced by the existence since 1990 of contemporary European academic journal titled *Intercultural Education.*

During the 1920s and 1930s, many American cities experienced race riots, lynchings, and other forms of violence targeted at ethnic and racial minorities. To counteract these problems, the IEM hoped to create exemplary models of community co-existence across racial and ethnic lines. When racial and cultural power imbalances are addressed, people learn from each other, which can lead toward the transformation of all peoples. According to Rachel Davis DuBois, the purpose of IEM was to create dialogue that would lead to healing and to reconciliation across race and religion. In her book *Neighbors in Action,* she claimed that Intercultural Education was proven to help ease tensions in areas where groups were ignorant and fearful of each other; they could come together and engage in discussion to foster mutual understanding.[18] Intercultural Education in the United States evolved in the late 20th century to multiculturalism where the emphasis shifted toward empowering all marginalized groups. While a goal of multiculturalism is to empower and level the playing field, some fear that multiculturalism can be divisive.[19]

A study on Intercultural Education cannot be separated from the life and work of Rachel Davis DuBois. DuBois's life was spent furthering the education of students and adults in the racial understanding, racial equality, and creating dialogue and programs that bridge the ignorance that was problematic to furthering democracy and freedom in America. DuBois is synonymous

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[18] Rachel DuBois, *Neighbors in Action: A Manual for Local Leaders in Intergroup Relations.* (New York*:* Harpers and Brothers, 1950).

[19] Banks, "*The Construction of Historical Development of Multicultural Education 1962-2012,*" 74.

with Intercultural, Interracial, and Interethnic conversations and education which all make up the Intercultural Education Movement.

Birth to Teacher

Rachel Davis DuBois was born in 1892 in Woodstown, New Jersey, the second of six children of Charles Howard Davis and Priscilla Davis. She was a white female from a deep Quaker background, raised on a farm that had been toiled by her Quaker ancestors since the seventeenth century. She proudly points out in her autobiography that she comes from a long line of farmers and a love of the land ran through her father's and brother's blood. DuBois was shaped by her experiences on the farm in her appreciation of hard work and appreciation of others worth regardless of their race and plight.[20]

DuBois wrote in her autobiography "Our farm family was a busy and productive unit, working and growing together."[21] She points out that several black workers were employed on their farm and she says that she and the blacks formed reciprocal relationships during her time growing up. This feeling of reciprocation cannot be surely verified but it was very important to DuBois to point out this sentiment. DuBois may have known that the feelings of reciprocity may not have been felt by the black workers as much as she may have wanted them to feel this way. A black worker by the name of Bill Williams is highlighted by DuBois in her autobiography as an example of a built up feeling of joy between her family and the black workers on the farm. Bill was remembered by DuBois as a jovial man who entertained the children with magic tricks and other sorts of funny and amusing actions.[22]

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[20] DuBois and Okorodudu. *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 4.
[21] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 4.
[22] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 6.

DuBois also points to a black worker by the name of Eve Jackson who taught her how to recite poems from black intellectuals. She states that she was not aware that she had read such works from black poets until later on in life but points to these such experiences as the beginning of her lifelong interest in race relations.[23] DuBois contradicts this idea with statements that point to her continual lack of consciousness about social prejudices in formative youth. It never occurred to her to ask or wonder why there were no black pupils in her classroom. She even says that no adult ever talked about race relations in those days.[24]

It is problematic that race was never discussed in her home considering that between the years of 1890 and 1920, the legal and civil rights for blacks were constantly under attack and being eroded. The effective nullification of the laws and amendments of Reconstruction and the reduction of blacks to the position of second-class citizens reflected nation-wide patterns of legal policy and action. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, American society seemed to be fracturing along lines of both class and race. The result, economist Simon Patten commented, was a widespread obsession with redrawing the boundary of freedom by identifying and excluding those unworthy of the blessing of liberty. "The South," he wrote, "has its Negro, the city has its slums…. The friends of American institutions fear the ignorant immigrant, and the workingman dislikes the Chinese."[25] As Patten suggested, many Americans embraced an increasingly restricted definition of nationhood. The new exclusiveness was evident in the pages of popular periodicals, filled with derogatory imagery depicting blacks and other "lesser" groups as little more than savages and criminals incapable of partaking in American freedom.[26]

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[23] DuBois and Okorodudu. *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 6.
[24] DuBois and Okorodudu. *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 7.
[25] Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*. 4th ed. Vol. 2. (New York: W.W Norton and Com pany, 2004), 238.
[26] Foner. *Give Me Liberty: An American History*, 238.

In 1896, the landmark decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the United States Supreme Court gave its approval to state laws requiring separate facilities for blacks and whites. The *Plessy* case arose in Louisiana, where the legislature had required railroad companies to maintain a separate car or section for black passengers. A citizens committee of black residents of New Orleans came together to challenge the law. To create a test case, Homer Plessy, a light skinned African American, refused a conductor's order to move to the colored only part of his railroad car and was arrested. In arguing the *Plessy* case the citizen's committee lawyer Albion Tourgee insisted that citizenship is national and knows no color, and racial segregation violated the fourteenth amendment's guarantee of equal protection before the law. The court upheld the Louisiana law and argued that segregated facilities did not discriminate so long as they were separate but equal.

States reacted to the *Plessy* decision by passing laws mandating racial segregation in every aspect of southern life, from schools to hospitals, waiting rooms, toilets, and cemeteries. Segregation was one part of an all-encompassing system of white dominations, in which each component disenfranchisement, unequal economic status, inferior education reinforced the others. The laws effect was not to so much keep the races separate but its main agenda was to uphold a societal system that ensured white domination. This white domination not only effected the black community but would affect other groups, as well. Mexican and Chinese citizens and immigrants saw laws in states like Texas, California, and Mississippi that barred them from restaurants, places of entertainment, and other public facilities.

The racial attitudes that fostered the prevailing white supremacist thinking was not restricted to southern and western states. New Jersey where Rachel Davis DuBois was born and raised had a well-documented history of white dominant ideology and suppression of black

rights. Unlike *Plessy* case down South that preceded it, Elizabeth Jennings Graham, a black female educator, won a legal fight to end racial segregation on horse drawn streetcars in New York in 1854. Graham was born to a free black man who purchase his wife's freedom. Elizabeth's father became a successful tailor and was awarded a patent from the U.S government for developing a new cleaning method for cloth. Elizabeth received a respectable education and her family was a part of the upper class black community in New York. New York had ended slavery in its state but due to federal fugitive laws and southern strength in Congress, white supremacist and dominance held legislative and ideological sway throughout the society.[27]

In the 1950s horse drawn streetcars were the dominant form of public transportation on the eve of electric rail growth as the next form of transportation. These streetcars were privately owned and they could refuse service to any passengers as well as institute segregated seating. On a summer day in July of 1854, Jennings went to board a streetcar and was ordered to exit the car by the conductor. Jennings refused the order and was then physically forced off of the car by the conductor with the help of a police officer.[28] Jennings actions began a movement among black New Yorkers to end racial discrimination and was occurring on the eve of the Civil War as the congress was debating black rights and the Supreme Court was making decisions that claim black men do not have rights that any white man should have to respect. Three years later in 1857, the *Dred Scott* case stated that black men and women were not meant to be regarded as citizens regardless of whether they were enslaved or free.

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[27] Perrotta, K. & Bohan, C.H. "Nineteenth Century Roas Parks? Assessing Elizabeth Jennings Legacy as a Teacher and Civil Rights Pioneer in Antebellum America", *Vitae Scholasticae: The Journal of Educa tional Biography,* (2013):37.

[28] Perrotta, K. & Bohan, C.H., "Nineteenth Century Roas Parks?" 37.

New York and Northeastern Republicans abandoned black Americans and their fight for full citizenship rights prior to the *Plessy* decision. In the Civil Rights Cases of 1883, Supreme Court justices ruled that the 1875 force act which banned discrimination in public accommodations was unconstitutional because the fourteenth amendment could be enforced only by the states, not the federal government. U.S. Supreme Court justices like Joseph Bradley expressed fatigue over consistent black American legal challenges for basic civil rights. The fight for basic rights began to be characterized as a quest for special treatment and special rights. In 1877 in *Hall v. Decuir*, the justices ruled that a state could not prohibit racial segregation. In a series of decisions, *Strauder v. West Virginia* (1880), *Ex parte Virginia* (1880), and *Virginia v. Rives* (1880), the U.S. Supreme Court provided clear guidelines to the states on how to systematically and constitutionally exclude African Americans from juries in favor of white jurors. The subsequent decision in *Plessy* created a basis for Jim Crow laws but it was the culmination of many other decisions that represented a national consensus on the creation of a court sanctioned black oppression in the U.S. that did not regard blacks as full citizens.

It is in this era of negative change, DuBois and the black workers had what appeared to be consistently positive and almost familial interactions. W.E.B. Du Bois argued that the ability of the black citizen to work and behave in the ways in which Rachel Davis DuBois described was due to a double consciousness. In the need to create a world that is bearable and allows for him to be human, the black man and women act one way in front of white dominated America that is separate from it and free from its African identity.[29] Rachel DuBois's relationships with

[29] Bruce Jr., Dickson D. "W.E.B. DuBois and the Idea of Double Consciousness." *American Literature* 64, no.2 (June 1992): 301.

the black workers on her farm, made a huge impression on her but the sincerity of the relationships considering the times and the events effecting the lives of black Americans is questionable and problematic when looking through the lens of the many black workers.

DuBois attributes her upbringing on the farm to giving her a sense of belonging and a foundation that gave her a feeling of importance and a belief in her ability to make a difference in the world. She exudes feelings of security and the absence of fear that came from her growing up in a religious home that gave her comfort and certainty. Her religious attitude was an experience that was a whole and not fragmented. What is meant by this feeling of the whole was her ability to see the importance of every aspect of life from the foundation to the end creation. For example, growing up on the farm she was able to see the making of bread from its very foundation of wheat to the end product on the dinner table. Growing up on the farm helped to create a foundation that gave purpose to the prayers at the dinner table when one blessed the food. This experience was also be the foundation for her ability to question when others just accept what they see and allow for life to dictate no matter the outcome.[30]

DuBois's earliest schooling was at Laurel Hill, the one-room school within walking distance across the field from her home. She would continue schooling at Bacon's Academy which was only two miles away from the farmhouse and then at Pilesgrove High School where she did not excel academically but was able to finish in fourth place out of her class of thirteen students. DuBois attended Bucknell where she attributed two lessons that she learned and for which she forever remained grateful. First, she attributed the growth in scientific knowledge on which she

[30] Bruce Jr., "W.E.B. DuBois and the Ideas of Double Consciousness," 9.

based her love of nature.[31] While at Bucknell, she was able attend various field trips that furthered her love of nature and she was forever grateful for being introduced to the great panorama of evolution from Darwin and learning of the contributions to science of the great nature lovers. Second, she attributed the introduction of the ordered and logical thinking of the scientific method which she applied years later at Teachers College, Columbia University.[32]

After graduating from College, DuBois took a teaching job, in many respects because she did not see a lot of professional choices for a young lady at the time. During the 1910's, DuBois began a teaching career and become active in the peace movement that opposed involvement in WWI. DuBois married Nathan Steward DuBois and thus Rachel Miriam Davis became Rachel Davis DuBois. She talked of her marriage in a matter of fact way that almost seems devoid of any real romantic love and a real sense of belonging in the marriage. DuBois never spoke of Nathan with the emotion that one would expect and he appeared to be nothing more than a part of what women were expected to do in life once they finished college and reached adulthood.

Rachel married Nathan in 1915 after her first year teaching at Glassboro Senior High School in Glassboro, New Jersey. The young teacher taught history in her first years at Glassboro and from her accounts she was a success and began to acquire a healthy respect and understanding of the problematic history of the United States. Rachel DuBois explained in her memoir a teaching style that would make the famed educator and philosopher John Dewey proud. DuBois described one of her first lessons in history in which she taught her students to understand the Declaration of Independence and the American Revolution by using art and discovery techniques in order to make the material interesting to her pupils.[33]

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[31] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 11.
[32] DuBois and Okorodudu. *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Educatio*n, 18.
[33] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 18.

The first years of teaching and marriage DuBois described in her memoir as a time of individual sacrifice that she seemed to resent as an expectation that only a wife was expected to endure. Nathan DuBois was a bank examiner, a job which took him away for weeks at a time as her work with Jane Addams also did in her case. She stated with that

> *Bucking the prevailing pattern was harder on him, for women's liberation had not yet burst through the social crust, freeing both men and women to grow toward their potential selves. It was during this time that she became more involved with the anti-war movement through the Philadelphia Young Friends Movement, a Quaker organization that expressed opposition to the war and a commitment to pacifism.*[34]

Rachel DuBois's work with the Friend's organization during her younger teaching and activist years groomed her and foreshadowed her willingness to stand against the tide of conservatism in an effort to promote change through action. DuBois was inspired by the Great War to become active as she sought to come to grips with the effects the war had on her community and country. DuBois showed her strength of character and conviction during the war when she refused to sell savings stamps to her pupils. She faced harsh discipline for such action but stood firm and was not punished but actually promoted by a respecting superintendent of her school system.[35]

The Quakers were known historically for their pacifist position and the Great War was not overwhelmingly popular. Many other feminist, pacifist, and social reformers had become convinced that peace was essential to further efforts to enhance social justice at home. Quakers,

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[34] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 23.

[35] Chara Haeussler Bohan, "A Rebellious Jersey Girl." *Addressing Social Issues in the Classroom and Be yond: The Pedagogical Efforts of Pioneers in the Field*, (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2007), 100.

pacifists and social reformers lobbied vigorously against American involvement as did large numbers of other religious leaders who viewed the war as a barbaric throwback to a less Christian era. American inclusion in WWI did aid in ending progress made by the political and social progressive agenda that started at the turn of the twentieth century and was embraced by both political parties by the mid-1910s.

During and after World War I, Rachel DuBois and her husband Nathan spent considerable time together as they shared an anti-war and social justice philosophy. Nathan traveled with Rachel to London and Germany to Young Friends conferences and pledged their commitment to help build a more peaceful world. She heard stories of the brutal conditions of war, the paternalism and imperial injustices that the war brought upon subjugated peoples. While in Europe for the conference, DuBois visited Germany and witnessed first-hand the degradation left over from the devastating war. She saw starving children in hopeless situations and feared that it was a doomed generation. This experience in London and Germany forced Rachel DuBois to question her readiness to make a difference in the classroom. She felt that in not knowing of such conditions in the world she was not prepared to be an effective teacher of history and social studies. At that point, she resigned of her teaching position at Glassboro High School to allow herself learn more firsthand about the social problems facing society.[36]

The education of Rachel Davis DuBois continued when she decided to accept an invitation in 1921 to travel to the South with a Pennsylvania Committee on the Abolition of Slavery in the South. The Abolition of Slavery Committee had roots dating back to colonial times and a sto-

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[36] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 84.

ried history of working on the behalf of abolition. She called the trip a culture shock in witnessing the "Colored" and "White" signs at the railroad station as she entered the South.[37] DuBois became increasingly educated and alarmed about social conditions in society when she learned about the reports of violence black Americans were subject to from many white Americans in the South.[38] DuBois new awareness of the black condition in the South was eye opening and she had to reeducate herself on the continuing issue of race in America. The plight of black Americans was caused by the residual effects of slavery and the failure of the government to create a system of reparations to assist the newly freed racial cast. The failure of Reconstruction in the South opened the door for the imposition of a reconstituted white supremacist racial order without legal slavery of the black population. A coalition of white merchants, planters and industrialists who dominated southern politics made a truce with northern politicians. Northern Republicans turned a blind eye to mistreatment of black Americans in the South in favor of economic partnerships. Black political power was being attacked at every turn in southern states. State budgets were slashed, taxes on property reduced, and public facilities closed. The black public schools were the hardest hit under the new Redeemers rule. Redeemers was the name the southern Democrats called themselves since they claimed to have redeemed the region from horrors of black rule. Black schools suffered the most significantly as the gap between expenditures for black and white pupils widened steadily.[39] Black labor was important to the southern economy but that economy meant that they were needed in the fields and not welcomed anywhere else.[40]

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[37] DuBois and Okorodudu. *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 34.
[38] Diana Selig, "Celebrating Cultural Diversity in the 1920's," *OAH Magazine of History* (2007), 43.
[39] James Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South 1860-1965*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 103
[40] Foner, *Give Me Liberty: An American History*, 244.

On this trip South, DuBois first heard and met George Washington Carver the famous scientist and educator. Carver was the principal speaker at a Farmers conference that she attended while in the South. She said that she felt so unprepared for such a meeting and cursed her white social world and high school education for failing her in that aspect. She also was made more aware of the educator and civil rights icon W.E.B. Du Bois by reading an article he wrote called "Race and War" in the *American Mercury* magazine. The meeting with Carver and her introduction to W.E.B. Du Bois's writings had an obvious and profound effect on Rachel DuBois. Carver's life story was inspirational for her because of his beginning as a slave, which if slavery had continued might have totally stripped him of his opportunities and the greatness he brought to the world. The inimitable logic of W.E.B. Du Bois's article "Race and War" was where he underlined racial injustices all over the world as the main causes of war. W.E.B. Du Bois's writing and the aura and respect she felt for W.E.B. had a profound effect on her, so much that she points to these moments as providing the emphasis of her life's work. [41]

W.E.B. Du Bois and Rachel Davis DuBois went on to have a life-long continuous correspondence that would see them both serve as support for each other professionally and personally. W.E.B. Du Bois was leading progressive black voice in academia and public life at the turn of the century and into the 1940s. W.E.B. was a scholar, poet, and activist founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and editor of its magazine, *The Crisis*. W.E.B. was born in Massachusetts in 1868 and was educated at Fisk and Harvard Universities.

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[41] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 37-38.

His career was spent trying to reconcile the contradiction of what he called "The American freedom for whites and the continuing subjection of Negroes."[42] Du Bois wrote about and believed in the educated black Americans he called "the talented tenth" of the black community must use their education and training to challenge inequality.

W.E.B. Du Bois was a progressive who used his writings voice to consistently bring attention to the plight of black Americans at the hands of a U.S. government policy. W.E.B. wrote about the horrors the need for continue black resistance until the black American receives the political, civil, and social rights of all other American born citizens.[43] His declaration at a meeting of a group of black leaders in Niagara Falls in 1905 became the cornerstone of the Black struggles for the twentieth century. The declaration called for the restoring to blacks the right to vote, and end of racial segregation, and the complete equality economic and educational opportunity. His mostly lasting legacy was his creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) with a group of mostly white reformers. Rachel Davis DuBois's relationship with W.E.B. will be revealed more in Chapter 2 as will her close working and personal relationship with other black civil rights icons such as A. Philip Randolph and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Another major source of influence and inspiration for DuBois was her working relationship with Jane Addams. In 1922, during her hiatus from teaching she traveled with Jane Addams and a group of Quaker Women of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to discuss the consequences of the Versailles Treaty. Jane Addams is famously known and taught in U.S. history books as a tireless advocate for immigrants and the poor who came and populated

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[42] W.E.B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk. (New York: Bantam Books, 1903).
[43] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 45.

the cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Rachel DuBois worked closely with Addams and her all female congregation in addressing the injustices and cruelty be placed on people in the oppressed countries. They discussed on various days the political, economic, military, and psychological aspects of the treaty. In a very short time in her career, DuBois was learning more than anything she could have gotten from a book and further gaining an understanding of the causes of injustice, poverty, and inequality.[44]

Jane Addams gained fame as a leader of the settlement house movement of the late 19th century. Settlement houses were inner city residential community centers inspired by the social gospel movement. Social gospel advocated for charitable contributions to combat social problems. Jane Addams was the most prominent female reformer of her time through her work with the immigrant poor. She, like Rachel DuBois, shunned having children and devoted her life to what she saw as a larger cause. The daughter of a prominent business man in Illinois and a college educated women, she founded Hull House in Chicago, Illinois in 1889. Addams founded Hull House from her experiences in seeing such establishments in the working class neighborhoods of London, England.[45]

Settlement house workers moved into the poor immigrant neighborhoods and built kindergartens and playgrounds for children. They established employment bureaus and health clinics while showing female victims of domestic abuse how to gain legal protection. Settlement houses spread all over the Midwest and Eastern part of the country. Jane Addams's Hull House initiated an array of reforms in Chicago, soon adopted in other cities. By the turn of the twentieth century and into the 1920s, there existed over 80,000 college educated women in the United

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[44] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 42.
[45] George Tindall and David Emory Shi, *America: A Narrative History*. 8th ed. Vol. 2. New York, NY: Norton and Company, 2016, 234.

States. Women like Addams and DuBois were creating social change by providing social services, nursing, and educating the masses of immigrants and the poor.[46]

The period between 1890 to the early 1920s, were filled with domestic change, foreign policy turmoil and the beginning of a new modern Progressive Educational Movement. The 1890s witnessed a major shift in the sources of immigration to the United States. There was a long depression in the mid 1890s but it did not stop the more than 3.5 million newcomers from entering the U.S. seeking jobs in the industrial centers of the North and Midwest. Most of the millions did not come from Western European countries which were the traditional centers of immigration but came from Southern and Eastern Europe. These new immigrants hailed from Italy, Russia, and the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, not from England, Ireland, and Scandinavia.[47]

The new immigrants who came in did not come to a country that was welcoming and ready to receive them inclusively. There were organizations that favored immigration restrictions which called for the reduction of immigration by barring people from coming into the country. The new immigrants often fell victim to exploitation and were many times placed in slum areas. Some immigrants escaped oppressive authoritarian governments in their homeland and came to America looking for a better life. They clustered in neighborhoods populated by people of the same ethnic groups and created communities in which they still often times spoke their native tongues. Although they dealt with exploitation, many times they earned more than was possible in the regions from which they came. They faced long hours, low wages, and the problem of dangerous working conditions, while native born citizens often populated the skilled jobs.[48]

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[46] George Tindall and David Emory Shi. *America: A Narrative History*, 234.
[47] Tindall and Shi, *America: A Narrative History*, 235.
[48] Tindall and Shi, *America: A Narrative History*, 232.

Before the larger European immigration of the 1890s thru to 1920s there was an exclusion of Chinese American labor in the 1882. Anti-Asian immigration took hold in state legislatures and gained support from leaders of both parties in Washington. These leaders expressed vicious opinions regarding immigrants from China, they were "odious, abominable, dangerous, revolting," declared Republican leader James G. Blaine.[49] Between 1850 and 1870, the overwhelming number of Chinese immigrants were single men allowed to come into the country to work in western gold fields, railroad construction, and factories.

In the early 1870s, entire Chinese families had entered the United States. First the country passed a bill to exclude Chinese women from entering the country. Beginning in 1882, Congress excluded immigrants from China from immigrating to the U.S. This new policy was the first law to exclude immigration on the sole basis of race and ethnicity. The exclusionary act which also limited Chinese rights to full rights of citizenship, left 105,000 persons of Chinese descent in the United States, living in the country with limited civil rights and openly facing intense discrimination with no support from the government.[50] The exclusion shaped the experience of Chinese-Americans, long stigmatizing them as incapable of assimilation and justifying their isolation from mainstream society.[51]

The 1920s brought about a new struggle for both blacks and immigrants and the countries first Red Scare of the 20th century. The Progressives were absent in the creation of relevant action on the issue of race and equality. The Progressive thinkers were also mired in the nineteenth century thought when the country's rising tension reached the boiling point on the disagreements

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[49] Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History*, 558.
[50] Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History*, 554.
[51] Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History*, 661.

over racial diversity.[52] The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) became stronger in many parts of the country as it called for the complete subjugation of blacks and the eradication of Jews, and other ethnic groups. A popular bestseller *The Passing of the Great Race* published in 1916 by Madison Grant, President of the New York Zoological Society, warned that the influx of new immigrants and the low birthrate of native white women threatened the foundations of American civilization.[53] This new study of eugenics, alleged mental deficient characteristics of people from different racial and ethnic groups, gained new professional respect in academic circles.[54]

The Great War brought with it a post-war wave of demands and strikes by workers in industry. This wave of progressive expectations was followed by a regressive political response by the political and capitalist class. The immigrants were often labeled as communists and socialists who did not assimilate into American culture. Convinced that the post WWI steel strike in Chicago was part of a worldwide conspiracy, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer in late 1919 and early 1920 sent federal agents to raid the offices of social justice and labor organizations throughout the country. The continued abuse of immigrant civil liberties was only ended when the severity of Palmer's execution of these actions brought negative attention and backlash.[55]

It was in this world that Rachel Davis DuBois was coming into the teaching profession and she was influenced by the happenings and progressive educators of the day. The influences of the Red Scare and its negative effects on blacks and immigrant groups was a major impetus that inspired educators in the Progressive Educational Movement. The pedagogical progressives

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[52] Thomas Fallace, "Reading Democracy and Education in the Context of World War I." *Democracy & Education* 25, no.1 (January 1, 2017): 55.
[53] Grant, Madison, *The Passing of the Great Race,* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 78.
[54] Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History,* 661.
[55] Tindall and Shi, *America: A Narrative History*, 243.

were aligned with progressive liberals and social justice became the goal of many of the pedagogical progressives. John Dewey was a significant influence on Rachel Davis DuBois and he was a brilliant philosopher and theorist who put his progressive ideas into practice in educational and social settings.[56] Dewey was not just an educational reformer. He was active in a variety of social and political reform activities and organizations. He was an ally of Jane Addams and worked diligently through teacher organizations to see that educators like Rachel Davis DuBois were not prevented from influencing the policies that controlled their practice.

John Dewey, the most studied educational philosopher of the twentieth century, gained prominence during the early twentieth century and his ideas on democracy and education were becoming widespread. Dewey broke down divisions between theory and practice, though and action, the child and the curriculum. He believe in hands-on activities, cooperative learning, making materials immediately relevant for students, treating teachers as professionals, and reconstructing society through democratic means. Many aspects of Dewey's educational philosophy are implemented extensively in the training and group techniques used later by DuBois in the education of teachers and community leaders in the Intercultural Education Movement.[57]

DuBois was also deeply influenced by another progressive thinker, Dr. Harold Rugg, a well-known and respected historian. One of his published pamphlets *Americanizing Our Foreign-Born* was filled with teaching suggestions that she found very helpful. It highlighted the value of America's cultural diversity and reflected Rugg's belief that in a democracy all sides of every social problem should be studied: peace-war, labor-management, as well as equal rights

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[56] Wayne Urban, and Jennings L Wagoner. *American Education: A History*. 4th ed. (New York, NY: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2008), 233.

[57] Thomas Fallace,"*Dewey and the Dilemma of Race: An Intellectual History, 1895-1922.* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2010), 33.

for minorities.[58] Harold Rugg was leader in the academic community during the early years of the 20th century and he attempted to redefine and reconstruct the social studies curriculum. Rugg's curriculum was intended to help expand and transform democratic principles by highlighting the American problems within classroom spaces.[59]

Rugg was a professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University. He proposed that history, government, geography, etc., should be taught as one unified course in social science and not separate courses. He was one of the few educational theorists of his day who attempted to define the discipline of social studies as a science of society. As a frame of reference in progressive circles, the support of Rugg was important to bringing additional names to help advance Intercultural Education in the movement of social studies for social change. Rugg envisioned that progressive curriculums would allow young Americans to focus on the "American problem." Rugg identified the American Problem as follows: How could the United States develop a society of abundance, adhere to democratic principles, appreciate the integrity of expression, and develop the potential available for tomorrow?[60]

In the 1920s, the time in which Rachel DuBois was working at Woodbury High School and formulating what would become the foundation of the Intercultural Education Movement, Teachers College was the center of progressive pedagogy in education. In addition to Dewey, Ella Flagg Young, William Kirkpatrick, William Rainey Harper were leaders of progressive education in the post WWI period. These pedagogical leaders furthered the ideas championed by

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[58] Harold Ordway Rugg, Earle Underwood Rugg, Emma Schweppe, Marie Gulbransen, *Social Science Pamphlets*, (New York: Columbia University, 1922).

[59] Lagarett J. King, Christopher Davis, and Anthony Brown. "African American History, Race and Text books: An Examination of the Works of Harold O. Rugg and Carter G Woodson." *The Journal of Social Studies Research* 36, (2012): 359

[60] King, Davis, and Brown, "African American History, Race and Textbooks", 365.

Dewey that emphasized the experience of education and the learning centered on the child and real-life experience.

Rachel Davis DuBois was influenced by the times in which she lived and the progressive colleagues in education, anti-war pacifist and cultural pluralist that she read and work with. She grew to openly question her limited education during her youth that failed to prepare her to positively encounter a diverse and complicated world full of ethnic, racial, and gender oppression. She was a young women with a big heart who obviously wanted to make the world a better place for all, while she fed her ambitions to create positive change and meet inspiring people. In this first chapter, I have revealed the influences in her young personal and professional life. The birth of Intercultural Education was born from her young adult lessons on race, tolerance, and pedagogy through her relationships with people like W.E.B. Du Bois, Jane Addams and the countless pacifist, educational progressives, and advocates who traveled in her circle of friends and colleagues.

In the chapters that follow, I reveal the growth of the Intercultural Education Movement through the leadership of Rachel DuBois's vision and leadership along with her break from the organization she started before going on to community work in Group Conversation training and Civil Rights activism. DuBois will prove to be a true progressive throughout her life, with respect to race, gender, ethnicity, and class. An unyielding force for progressive change on the issues of ethnic respect and increased feelings of self-worth, interracial harmony, and promotion of peace through group conversation.

Chapter 2

Activist Teacher

In 1924, Rachel Davis DuBois and her husband Nathan purchased a home in Pitman, New Jersey with plans for her to return to teaching in the classroom. She was returning from a series of engagements working with different peace organizations and peace tours. In addition to attending conferences, Rachel DuBois helped develop a clearinghouse for peace activities for the youth. Together with the executive director of the Women's International League office Amy Woods, DuBois wrote an eight- session series discussion outline on *War and Its Consequences* for use in senior high schools and colleges.[61] DuBois ended her four year hiatus with a peace tour with the Women's International League, traveling throughout the Northeast and as far south as Virginia. She expressed in her autobiography the pride she felt at the time of having worked with her idol and heroine Jane Addams as well as having traveled throughout Europe and the states touting the message of pacifism. Rachel DuBois was proud when she found out later that forces within the U.S. government became worried enough to send spies to the meetings and placed her on a blacklist that included Jane Addams.[62]

DuBois was planning her return to the classroom when the country was in need of a pedagogy to combat the normalization of xenophobic politics. The early 1920s saw an emergence of a new increasingly active KKK. The Klan and other white supremacist organizations of the time were showing just as much concern with Catholics, Jews, and foreigners as they were blacks. In the 1920s, Klan membership grew rapidly and expanded exponentially, not just in small towns

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[61] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 45.
[62] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 65.

and rural areas in the South, but in industrial cities in the North and Midwest. White supremacists tried to present the Klan and similar organizations as protectors and defenders of morality. This characterization as protectors of morality were used to justify why the public turned a blind eye to Klan's systematic terrorizing of blacks, Jews, Catholics and foreigners.

As Rachel DuBois took her four year hiatus and worked to increase reform for minorities and immigrants, there were three different laws passed by Congress that were designed to limit the influx of new immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. The laws were quota acts designed to hinder the flow of immigrants that had largely provided the labor for the industrial revolutions before the Great War and the great migration of blacks from the South. In 1921, the National Quota Law of 1921 limited immigration of each nationality to 3 percent of the number of foreign-born of that nationality living in the U.S. in 1910.[63] In 1924 a new National Origins law was passed. The law was a more restrictive law that set annual quotas for each nationality at 2% of the number of persons of that nationality in the U.S. as determined by the 1890 census.[64] Finally, before the end of the decade the Quota Law of 1929 set the appropriations for each country according to each percentage of nationality from the 1920 census. These quotas were the first quotas in the country since the Chinese Exclusionary Act of 1882.[65]

Fears of immigrant radicalism now outweighed the desire for cheap unskilled labor from Europe. The increase in factory mechanization and the new influx of southern blacks to northern cities helped fill the void left by European immigration restrictions. The 1921 quota law restricted immigration from Europe to a number of 357,000 per year. This change reflected an an-

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[63] Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History*, 650.
[64] Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History*, 650.
[65] Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History*, 651.

nual decrease of a one-third the annual average than what existed before the war. The 1924 Congress further restricted the immigration of people from southern and eastern Europe. The limiting of quotas to 2 percent based on 1890 numbers now brought the total number of immigrants per year from southern and eastern Europe to 150,000 per year.[66] The 1924 law also barred the entry of all those ineligible for naturalized citizenship. Ineligible citizens consisted of the entire population of Asia, including Japan and China. Filipinos were the only Asians allowed to enter the United States. Filipinos were deemed American nationals due to the fact that the Philippines had been given U.S. territorial status after its acquisition following the Spanish-American War in 1898.[67]

The term "Illegal Alien" was first used as a description to describe the Chinese as well Eastern and Southern European immigrants who entered the United States after passage of the exclusionary law. Chinese immigrants attempted to enter the U.S. through the Mexican and Canadian borders. The term "illegal alien" was now used to describe the Mexican and Central American immigrants coming across the southern border. The immigrant and border issues in the U.S. have a long history that exemplifies the racial and xenophobic issues that the country faced in the 1920s and still faces in the 21st century.[68]

The United States' long history of immigrant exclusion extends as far back as the 1700s. In addition to the first Alien and Sedition Act of the 1790s, blacks had been barred from naturalization until 5 years after the Civil War in 1870. Beginning in 1875, various classes of immigrants had been excluded, Chinese laborers, prostitutes, the intellectually disabled, and those with contagious diseases. Prior to the Great War, non-Asian persons who wished to come into the country

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[66] Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History*, 630.
[67] Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History*, 630.
[68] Tindall and Shi, *America: A Narrative History*, 340.

were able to become citizens without lawful limitations. But, the early 1920s post-war political and social climate began to effect relaxed thoughts for open border immigration that had made the U.S. a welcome place for all European newcomers before the Great War. The fears of outside communists, socialists, and anarchists allowed for political power to be placed in the hands of those who legislated on reactionary impulses.[69]

By the early 1920s, U.S. political and industrial leaders of both the North and South relegated blacks to second-class citizenship. Black labor was the backbone of the southern economy and failure to address civil rights for blacks nationwide continued as economic growth was an incentive for peaceful collaboration between northern and southern capitalists. The Republican party of the Civil War relaxed its protection of black rights and the southern white segregationist and terrorist Klan had gained a stronghold on the southern society. In this racially charged climate, complete with numerous lynching of blacks as well as the systematic political and economic denying of blacks equality, the NAACP was formed. The NAACP founded in 1909 and incorporated in 1911, was a young organization in the 1920's looking to make a difference by using the American judicial system to fight injustice. W.E.B. Du Bois was part of the group of black and white Americans who established the organization that became a fighter for justice and civil rights for black people for the next 60 years.

Woodbury Project

It is in this climate of xenophobia and continuing polarization, Rachel Davis DuBois desired to create an educational pedagogy of change. In the fall of 1924, DuBois had returned to

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[69] WalterLaFeber, Richard Polenberg, and Nancy Woloch, *The American Century: A History of the United States since 1890*, (New York: Routledge,2013),167.

teaching, and accepted a position at Woodbury High School in New Jersey. She choose Woodbury on the basis that it was near the new home she and Nathan had purchased. DuBois's experience uniquely qualified her to instruct the five freshmen classes of social studies she was given to teach. She was also asked to assume responsibility for the required assembly programs that took place once a week at the school. She became disenchanted with the ineffectiveness of these assemblies and the inability of the guest speakers to connect with the students and speak to their level of understanding.[70] DuBois was an advocate and wanted the classroom to be a place of real student connection to issues and problems. She had become sensitive to the feelings of minorities and aware of the continued discrimination against the Irish in the work place and segregation of black children in the elementary schools in New Jersey. She began to think about how valuable the student assemblies could be if used to booster the pride of all the students, including the minority students.

In the beginning DuBois and the other teachers were expected to come to the assemblies and help keep the students quiet. She did not look forward to the weekly student assemblies but she consistently thought about ways to improve the assemblies and bring value that could raise prestige of each ethnic group. Then, one particular morning during her first year there was an outside speaker whom she did not know who sat down in the middle of his speech, in anger, because the students were not listening. The school principal then came to DuBois as they were exiting the assembly hall and said, "Will you take charge of all the assembly programs for the whole year?" DuBois replied. "Yes, if you will let me do what I'd like to do." At which he replied, "Do anything you like, I trust your ability."[71]

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[70] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 71.
[71] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 48.

The short exchange between DuBois and her principal, Mr. Thomas, would prove to be the beginning of her real career. After the first year of teaching at Woodbury High School and excited about planning for the new assembly programs at Woodbury High School, DuBois looked forward to the summer and traveling to see old friends. DuBois planned a summer in which she would travel to meet prisoned labor activist James Price and then to Oakland, California to visit an old college friend. On her way to Oakland, she stopped off in Denver to attend the annual meeting of the NAACP. There for the first time she met a hero of hers and the renowned educator and Civil Rights leader W.E.B. Du Bois and writer Langston Hughes. W.E.B. Du Bois took a keen liking to Rachel Davis DuBois and her work, and immediately helped her meet and talk to many black leaders. Rachel DuBois credited these and other experiences through her travels with revitalizing her teaching and creating the empathy and understanding required for intercultural educational leadership.[72]

Rachel Davis DuBois cherished her relationship with W.E.B. Du Bois, as witnessed by their continuing correspondence over the remainder of his life. Rachel DuBois was inspired to make the race problem her life's work. W.E.B. and Rachel Davis DuBois's correspondence with one another often revealed their close fondness for each other as comrades working to address the problems of injustice toward blacks.[73] Rachel would eventually be named as a board member of the NAACP and saw W.E.B. often during those years. W.E.B. Du Bois would regularly write to her and express his discontent with the NAACP and the inadequate office space,[74] the mis-

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[72] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 65.
[73] Rachel Davis DuBois Papers, Immigration and History Research Center Collection, University of Minnesota, "Letters Between Dr. W.E.B. DuBois and Rachel DuBois" 1950, Box 17, File 3, Subsequent references to the collection will be cited hereafter as DuBois Papers.
[74] DuBois Papers, "Letters between W.E.B. Du Bois and Rachel DuBois," Box 17, File 3.

placed use of resources due to political patronage, and the ineffective leadership. In one correspondence with Rachel DuBois, W.E.B. expressed the anger he felt toward the leadership, including Walter White. Rachel DuBois obviously wrote to W.E.B. Du Bois many times seeking assistance and guidance, in her attempt to grow Intercultural Education through monetary and academic means.[75]

W.E.B. Du Bois wrote a memorandum to schools advancing the importance of Rachel DuBois's work.[76] He also discussed the need for courses on the development of culture and intercultural relations in schools.[77] W.E.B. corresponded with Rachel on questions of funding on numerous occasions, and these letters are located in the archives at the University of Minnesota. He was never shy to voice his lack of funds, and it appeared he continuously needed to seek the help of benefactors and philanthropists. He would advise her about people who were sympathetic to the work she was doing. What was always consistent in the correspondence between W.E.B. and Rachel Davis DuBois was a friendship and fondness that was respectful and affectionate.[78]

In her autobiography Rachel DuBois discussed the possibility of a familial relationship between her husband's line of DuBois family and the famed Black leader's family. W.E.B. told her during one of their many correspondences that they might be related. Some of W.E.B.'s ancestors were French Huguenots, a protestant group of Frenchmen mostly from northern France. Two brothers, Louis and Jacques Du Bois, had come to the United States. One of the brothers went to the Caribbean, married a native woman, and had two sons, who were brought to the

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[75] DuBois Papers, "Letters between W.E.B. Du Bois and Rachel DuBois," Box 17, File 3.
[76] See Appendix A
[77] DuBois Papers, "Letters between W.E.B. Du Bois and Rachel DuBois," Box 17, File 3.
[78] DuBois Papers, "Letters between W.E.B. Du Bois and Rachel DuBois," Box 17, File 3.

United States for better schooling. One son married a black woman and the other married a white woman and then went on to live in white society. W.E.B. Du Bois's ancestral background is a prime example of the mixed racial background that comprises an interesting but difficult racial past of many people in the United States.[79]

During her four-year hiatus from teaching, Rachel DuBois met and conversed with several leaders in the peace, women's rights, and labor movements. She continued to nourish those relationships while continuing to attend the summer conferences of progressive labor and social justice leagues. The many contacts and friends she made over that time period came in handy when she needed help developing materials and booking respected speakers for assemblies. She repeatedly called on leaders like Norman Thomas, A. Philip Randolph, W.E.B. Du Bois and Dr. William Pickens to lend help in developing materials and pamphlets at Woodbury High School and the extension of the program in subsequent years to other schools and community.

Upon her arrival back at Woodbury the following fall, Rachel DuBois made it a point to redirect the assemblies and used them as intergroup education assemblies. She set about changing the assemblies to be experienced as vehicles to promote her platform of interracial harmony. She brought the entire student body together and permitted actual demonstrations of the artistic achievements of various ethnic groups. DuBois made a pedagogical decision early on that her assemblies on intercultural understanding were going to appeal to the student's emotions as well as to their intellect. With the assistance of the student-faculty committee, she planned a year-long series of assemblies, held at two to six-week intervals, each devoted to the history, achievement, and contributions of different ethnic groups. Assemblies were usually timed to coincide

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[79] DuBois Papers, "Letters between W.E.B. Du Bois and Rachel DuBois," Box 17, File 3.

with a holiday associated with one particular ethnic group. For example, presentations on Italians were covered in October because of Columbus Day and blacks would be studied in February due to Lincoln's birthday, which was the reason Carter Woodson choose February for Negro History Week.[80] Although the holiday curriculum has been criticized in contemporary education literature, Rachel Davis DuBois's Woodbury project was remarkable for its time; it involved in-depth study, included members from the communities being studied, and required student involvement in both learning the content and performing the assemblies. Yoon Pak noted that DuBois's curriculum would be "considered innovative and challenging, even through the eyes of present-day observers."[81]

In implementing this new model, DuBois was aware that many of the articles and books being written about Americanization were not suitable to progressive intergroup education. Americanization placed an emphasis on conformity based on mistrust and fear on the part of old-line Americans. The assembly committee she coordinated developed questions that were outside of the norm, and she wanted all the students to see themselves as American and grow to appreciate and understand the other cultures within the community and the country. The emphasis DuBois wanted to convey was that America was built by many people, old-line as well as recent immigrant, black as well as white. Because of the lack of resources, she broadened her search for information to create a program that increased awareness of a myriad of ethnic contributions.[82]

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[80] DuBois Papers, Rachel Davis DuBois Papers, Immigration and History Research Center Collection, University of Minnesota, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," 1936-1940, Box 30, File 11, Subsequent references to the collection will be cited hereafter as DuBois Papers Service Bureau Classroom Materials.

[81] Yoon Pak, "Teaching for Intercultural Understanding: A Teachers Perspective in the 1940's," Social Education in the Twentieth Century: Curriculum and Context for Citizenship, ed. Joseph Waras, Margaret Smith Crocco, and Christine Woyshner (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 61.

[82] Nicholas V. Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982), 85.

A Program of Education for World Mindedness

The Woodbury project started as a series of programs designed to build respect and appreciation among the old stock white majority for the new immigrants and ethnic groups. The program was first given at Woodbury High School during the morning assembly periods on two or three days a week during the school year. The programs highlighted the history, art, science and music of various ethnic groups and races. Each subject department was in charge of preparing and presenting appropriate materials to present to the student body.

Each assembly was a combination oratory, drama, and performance. DuBois sought out informed individuals from different ethnic groups who were part of the communities and knew the history and cultural practices of the groups being studied whether they be Jewish, black, or Native American. A typical assembly, such as the one presented at Woodbury High School on Jews, featured a Jewish rabbi who spoke on Jewish religious ideals, included playing of records of Hebrew music, from Eili, Eili! to Irving Berlin, and a talk by a member of the Jewish Fine Arts Club of Philadelphia. Student participants in the program made a dramatic presentation of Jewish contributions to ancient and modern civilizations, delivered speeches on the Jewish influence on American literature and theatre, and presented a short skit depicting Jewish immigrants arriving on an improvised gangplank while the Statue of Liberty greeted them. During the year, students were introduced to performances of Italian opera and Negro spirituals, German folk dances and Indian war chants, demonstrations of Galileo's experiments with falling bodies, the procedure for making peanut bread using actual flour sent by Dr. Carver of The Tuskegee Institute, recitation of black poetry, and readings from the German "Tales of the Black Forest."[83] Prominent individuals such as Dr. William Pickens of the NAACP, Chih Meng, Director of

[83] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," 1948. Box 30, File 10.

China Institute of America, Judge Alessandroni of Philadelphia, all accepted invitations to appear at the school.[84]

In the month of October contributions of the Italians to American life included the influence of Ancient Rome by the Latin department. The influence of Latin on the English language, the law and government were emphasized while costumed speakers spoke on the influence of Roman mythology and Shakespeare. The Art department and English department each presided over forums on different days that highlighted the Italian Renaissance. Columbus Day featured a guest speaker.

During the month of February, Negro History Week took center stage in the assembly. The program had a good start with contributions made by the eager black students and a successful engaging speaker from the NAACP, field secretary Dr. William Pickens. Before the end of the month, DuBois was told to inform the black students that their program highlighting black contributions in poetry and music was being canceled by the Board of Education. The School Board then sought her quiet resignation, although they themselves said she was one of the best teachers in the school and was tenured. Her fall from favor was led by the local American Legion, which was attempting to weed out dissention. During this post-World War I period, repression increased, not only for immigrants and unions, but also pacifists, socialists, and anyone determined to be dangerous to the American government. In an attempt to discredit her progressive intercultural curriculum, DuBois was charged with Bolshevik leanings, refusal to salute the flag, belief in interracial marriage, and support of the cult of nakedness.[85] These accusations were part

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[84] Nicholas V. Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 87.
[85] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 68.

of the tactics employed during the first Red Scare, which was a result of the reaction to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The impact was that educational and political discussions deemed threating were repressed and teachers who led these initiatives were removed from teaching.[86]

DuBois kept her position for the next three years due to her tenure, the support of the local superintendent, the backing of local Quaker groups, and a New Jersey tenure law that made her ouster difficult. She survived these attacks and retained her position, but she noted in her biography[87] that she spent less time in the classroom after this episode and lost some of her zest for the work. During this time, DuBois spent considerably more time arranging and preparing the publication and distribution of a pamphlet describing the Woodbury assemblies. The Women's International League helped facilitate this work and Rachel DuBois also experimented with assemblies on other themes.[88]

While working on her pamphlet, DuBois was planning on retiring quietly before going back to school to pursue a doctorate. Interestingly, in the three years following the American Legion episode, the political climate had changed due to the growth in Hitlerism. Furthermore, racial unrest grew because of the Great Migration and tensions caused by increased minority populations in urban industrialized cities.[89] In fact, James A. Banks attributes the development of the field of intercultural education to educators who needed to respond to growing anti-Semitism and racial rioting in the 1930s.[90] DuBois's work was needed more than ever, and she had become focused on expanding her Woodbury plan of study to other schools. She decided to attend

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[86] George Tindall and David Shi, *America: A Narrative History,* 1036.
[87] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More:Pioneering in Intercultural Education,* 1984.
[88] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941,* 95.
[89] George Tindall and David Shi, *America: A Narrative History,* 1248.
[90] James A. Banks, "Race, Knowledge Construction, and Education in the United States: Lessons from His tory," in J.A. Banks and C. A. McGee Banks, eds. *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education, 2nd ed.,* 2004, 230.

Teachers College and acquire her doctorate while working on the Woodbury Project. She noted in her memoir "having kids is not something I want and thus there was nothing to hold me back in my professional endeavors."[91]

Before registering for classes at Teachers College, she contacted a friend name Dr. Harriet Rice in hopes of getting her help in preparing the pamphlet describing the Woodbury Project. Rice was a black woman who DuBois met at an American Friends Center in Philadelphia. Rice was willing to move to New York and work with her on the project, so they both searched around the Teachers College area to look for an apartment together. Rachel DuBois and Rice applied for a room and although DuBois was honest with her about her racial identity, she and Rice were still allowed to become roommates. This period was one where DuBois was able to make personal connections in the black community that proved invaluable to her gaining real insight from black people with whom she came into contact. DuBois was a dark-complexioned Caucasian woman, who could pass for black in many circles, and she used this feature to her advantage by gaining entrance into the black world and building trusting relationships across racial lines. DuBois was able to gain knowledge of the black culture in intimate ways that were not easily accessible for most white people in the 1930s. She went to dances and interracial gatherings and passed as a black woman many times. She would surprise blacks when she would reveal that she was white. Although DuBois never mentions it in her autobiography, it is possible that she witnessed at least brief moments of discriminatory actions toward her during her early life. Her

[91] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 15.

ability to pass for a light-skinned black woman surely could have fooled some whites into thinking she was black. When she applied for housing at Teachers College, whites continually believed she was black until she set the record straight.[92]

Teachers College

DuBois registered at the Teachers College, Columbia in 1932 after resigning her position from Woodbury High School. During her time at Teachers College, the work that became the center of her life will evolved into what became Intercultural Education. The connections she forge through her work with numerous organizations proved fruitful. As mentioned earlier, at the request of the Women's International League, DuBois with her former black American roommate Harriet Rice, put together an educational pamphlet called the Woodbury plan.[93] The plan designed programs that DuBois had started and practice while she worked at Woodbury in the 1920s after her experiences in London and the Deep South. The Woodbury plan received a lot of publicity and interest from the very start. The prejudice and xenophobia spreading throughout the 1930s was leading many to communities to express the need to set up programs that work to prevent the growth of prejudice.

DuBois's major professor was Dr. Daniel Kulp II of the Department of Educational Sociology a Teachers College. Kulp proved to be a major influence on DuBois in his teachings on the basic concepts related to the formation and change of attitudes. DuBois saw a parallel in this concept in that it was in line with what she wanted to achieve with the Woodbury project. Kulp's teaching concepts included ides that an attitude is a tendency to move toward or away from a value, so humans have negative or positive attitudes. To change the attitude, the value must be

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[92] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 16.
[93] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 58.

changed. Since social situations give people values, to change the value arrange social situations which reach the emotions. The concept is based in the belief that people act, not according to what they know, but according to what they feel about what they know. Emotions are the feelings that are aroused based on our gaining or loosing satisfaction or in life. The basic desires that are needed for satisfaction are: (1) security, (2) personal connections, (3) new experiences, (4) recognition, and (5) connection with God.[94]

When DuBois decided to leave teaching in order to pursue her doctorate at Teachers College, she stated a desire to develop an understanding on how to foster changing attitudes. Her mentor Kulp had recently steered the completion of a doctoral dissertation by George Neumann which greatly influenced DuBois's work. Neumann had argued that attention to attitude formation was at least as important as instruction in facts or skills, and had devised a set of questions, known as the "Neumann Attitude Indicator," to test the international attitudes of high school students. The test became a widely used measuring instrument for years. DuBois saw her project as the "next step" after Neumann's work. Her program was designed to favorably alter international attitudes and the test would permit her to measure its impact.[95]

In addition to Neumann's attitude indicator, DuBois used Kulp's concepts and his text *Educational Sociology* published in 1932 as an important resource when she was creating materials for the Woodbury Project.[96] To reach the emotions of the participants in the assemblies the project emphasized the use of music and arts for various ethnic cultures. To change attitudes the project offered related facts and arranged opportunities practiced by the students exercising their new learned attitudes. DuBois was using academics to teach students about other cultures in an

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[94] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 91.
[95] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 89.
[96] Kulp, Daniel H, *Educational Sociology*, (New York: Longman Green, 1932).

effort to educate. But, she also had a mission of using the Woodbury plan to teach teachers how to reach the emotional center of the participants in order to make real impactful change. The Woodbury plan was designed to increase intergroup harmony in communities and increase the level of respect for the minority in society.

DuBois asked in her interaction and discussion with white teachers, if they had ever had any experience with Negro Americans.[97] She knew from her own experiences before she became active in the pacifist movement, that she too had been ignorant of black culture. In implementing the Woodbury plan, DuBois realized that she needed facts on the contributions of various culture groups. In researching and reading through numerous textbooks on the different cultures, she became aware that much of the information in textbooks was incorrect. Kulp emphasized to DuBois the importance of creating good materials if she wanted to expand the program outside to numerous high schools.[98]

Under Kulp's direction, DuBois began working with Philadelphia area high schools, organizing assemblies, training teachers and administrating the Neumann test both before and after the yearlong programs at each school. Over the span of three years between 1929 and 1931 she conducted experiments at over 17 different suburban Philadelphia schools. DuBois conducted these experiments in an attempt to determine the effectiveness of the assembly programs in comparison to simple classroom teaching. Educational theory at the time stressed the advantage of emotional over mental appeals in changing attitudes. The experiments in the Philadelphia schools using the Nuemann test and the Woodbury plans proved to DuBois that were both biases

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[97] Negro was a common term in the 1930's for African Americans/Blacks.
[98] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 91.

and distortions in current textbooks and a lack of curriculum materials on racial and ethnic groups' importance in the development of American society.[99]

DuBois began to collect information in order to build documents and texts on the history and contributions of different ethnic groups. She began to build on literature that would be used to introduce history, science, and art. She appealed for and received help from a number of ethnic organizations in New York City such as the China Institute, the Japan Institute, the Block Publishing Company, the NAACP and the Urban League. DuBois went to libraries, read voraciously on the subjects of ethnic history and the gifts that each group brings to the U.S. macro culture. The product she produced from this effort included a series of pamphlets dealing with historical development, cultural traits, and individual accomplishments of each group.[100]

DuBois began to work on spreading her plan with the help of the Women's International League and the Urban League. The first schools that started using the Woodbury Plan were in the New York and Washington D.C. areas. An Urban League leader Caroline Chaplin arranged for the plan to be implemented at the Dwight Morrow High in New York and then two Junior high schools in Washington D.C. with the help of a principal, Bertie Baskus.[101] The assembly at the schools brought the white and black students together through group interaction, art education, and the use of cross racial speaker's assemblies. It was during these first assemblies that DuBois says she needed to start training teachers to lead these assemblies and correctly implement the plan. She then started offering courses in Intercultural Education to the teachers as the

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[99] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 94.
[100] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 95.
[101] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 98.

schools in which she worked. In 1933, DuBois taught her first college course in Intercultural Education at Boston University in the Department of Citizenship Education.[102]

Conclusion

During her time at Teachers College, the Woodbury Project work that became the center of her life evolved into what became the Intercultural Education Movement. DuBois, along with Harriet Rice, created an educational pamphlet called the Woodbury Plan. The plan reflected programs that DuBois had started and practiced while she worked at Woodbury in the 1920s after her experiences in London and the American South. In the Woodbury programs, the two women presented music and art of America's various cultures that helped influence growth in the attitudes of the students toward different races and micro-American cultures.[103] The Woodbury Project became the basis for the educational programs that she promoted throughout her long career. In the 1930s she established a clearinghouse on IE that was published widely and became the bedrock of the Intercultural Education curriculum.

In Chapter 3, I take a closer look at the materials used to build Intercultural Education and Rachel DuBois's tenure as the leader of the Bureau which she started and her messy, political, unceremonious exit from the organization. I describe the clear division within intercultural educational philosophy within the Bureau. DuBois proved her devotion to her progressive ideas of building a greater cultural democracy. In opposition to the "melting pot" theory of assimilation advocated by her conservative colleagues, she believed Jews, blacks, recent immigrants and second generation immigrants were better served by a program that educated people to know

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[102] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 63.
[103] Shafali Lal, "1930's Multiculturalism: Rachel Davis Dubois and the Bureau for Intercultural Education," *Radical Teacher* 69 (2004): 20.

their uniqueness but who also know the other (ethnics and blacks) have been important to building this nation and have value to be assimilated in to U.S. macro-culture.[104]

[104] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 96.

Chapter 3

Intercultural Education Movement

DuBois continued to work on building a manuscript collection of teaching materials. Before 1934 and her shift to a more radical ideology and curriculum, the materials supplementing the assembly programs did not highlight critical differences in culture. Most tried to show that ethnic aspirations and achievements were congruent with the professional and technological thrust of American civilization. Units such as "Irish Music in America," "German contributions in Physics, "Chinese in Science and Invention," "The arts and crafts of the Pennsylvania Germans." DuBois had two German glassmakers to come in to demonstrate to minority groups members the advancement of science and industry. Additional units included titles such as: Jewish Orchestra Conductors in American Life, Jewish Composers of Popular Music, and Mexican Mural Painters and their influence in the United States, the Literature, Music and Artistic contributions of the Negro. The curriculum units did not deal with issues that caused division or controversial conversations. The cultural identity of each group and the issues that divided them in the U.S. was not part of the curriculum. The early curriculum materials sought to develop "world mindedness," not ethnic consciousness.[105]

As mentioned earlier DuBois was influenced by a number of progressive educators, academics and social justice reformers. DuBois's ideology on American cultural pluralism and racisms effects on minorities was inspired by no one more than Louis Adamic. Adamic's writings explained the mindset of the ethnic immigrant trying to assimilate into a society that does not embrace its newly transformative large immigrant population. Adamic takes to task the old stock population and argues for the need for an educational movement that teaches natives and new

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[105] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," Box 29, File 5.

immigrants to embrace its wealth of cultural pluralism. America he argued is more defined by the ships that brought immigrants to the United States in the late 1800's than ships that brought the Pilgrims.

Louis Adamic Influences

The Service Bureau on Intercultural Education was officially created in 1934, the same year that Louis Adamic made his appeal in his article "Thirty Million New Americans" that there was a need for a great educational and cultural work.[106] He advocated the teaching of second generation Americans about their history and heritage and the imparting to Native-born non-ethnic (Old-Stock) Americans an appreciation of the cultural contributions of the newer Americans.[107] Adamic expressed that such an organization should attempt to educate and enlighten public school teachers, whose strong influence on the second generation boded well or ill for the future of American society. Louis Adamic was not fully aware of the Bureau's existence when he wrote his article but the Bureau under DuBois's leadership quickly dedicated itself to the same goal as Adamic. To harmonize and integrate, as much as possible, the various racial and cultural strains in the U.S. population without suppressing or destroying good qualities in any one of them.[108]

"Thirty Million New Americans" was published in *Harpers Monthy* in 1934 and outlined the specific themes that characterized his approach throughout his career. His diagnosis of the problems of the second generation ethnic became his major contribution to the theory of cultural

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[106] DuBois Papers, "Intercultural Ed. Documents" Box 29, Louis Adamic, Thirty Million New Ameri cans, Service Bureau for Education and Hu man Rights, 1935, Original published in Harper Weekly, 1932.
[107] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 98.
[108] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 99.

pluralism.[109] He argued that Americanization caused the second generation to experience feelings of inferiority based on their parent's second-class citizenship, which consigned them to the worst jobs and the worst sections of American cities and towns. Adamic stated, "They were called Hunkies or Bohunks, Dagoes or Wops, Polacks or Litvaks, Sheenies or Kikes. They were frequently and unavoidably discriminated against."[110] According to Adamic, the parents were in better positions than their children, because they could take refuge in their racial and cultural knowledge of their backgrounds."[111] The children who know nothing of their parent's culture, "break away from the homes of their immigrant parents, eventually repudiate entirely their origin," Some of these "New Americans become chauvinistically patriotic, others become actively antisocial."[112] The majority, according to Adamic, "Segregated themselves," and "just hang back from the main stream of life in this country, forming a tremendous mass of neutral, politically dead citizenry."[113]

Adamic proposed that the remedy was not larger doses of Americanization but efforts to "inspire in them some respect for what it meant to be a Finn, a Slovenian, a Serbian, a Croatian, a Slovak, a Czech… make them conscious of their backgrounds and heritage." The schools, libraries and settlement houses must understand that "it is impossible and, what is more undesirable to make the offspring of Lithuanians or Serbians into Anglo-Saxons, the aim should be rather to help them become real men and women on the pattern of their own natural cultures."[114] It is

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[109] DuBois Papers, "Intercultural Ed. Documents, Readings," Box 29.
[110] DuBois Papers, "Intercultural Ed. Documents, Readings," Box 29.
[111] DuBois Papers, "Intercultural Ed. Documents, Readings," Box 29.
[112] DuBois Papers, "Intercultural Ed. Documents, Readings," Box 29.
[113] DuBois Papers, "Intercultural Ed. Documents, Readings," Box 29.
[114] Shiffman, "*Rooting Multiculturalism: The Work of Louis Adamic,*" (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003).

this argument and the emphasis on institutions helping to build empowered men and women in a multicultural community that inspired Rachel Davis DuBois.

Louis Adamic was born in 1898 in Blato, Slovenia, which was then under Austrian rule. He was the oldest child born to relatively affluent Catholic peasants. Adamic was fascinated by the stories he heard from immigrants returning from America. Adamic encounter two competing myths about America; that it was a bedlam of lunatics and that it was the golden country, the land of promise. The returning immigrants he met described both the wonders and intense hardship of their lives abroad. Adamic was a failed student in school and was an aimless teen who saw America as a place where everything was possible.

Adamic arrived at Ellis Island in 1913 along with many other immigrants traveling in the steerage section. He spent his first three years in America living within the Yugoslav immigrant community in New York City. His first job was at a Slovenian immigrant newspaper. By 1916, Adamic's English had improved enough so that he could translate articles into Slovene. He attended night school in order to further improve his English but soon grew to resent the mechanical, Americanizing curriculum.[115] Adamic wrote this about his night school experience in his 1932 book *Laughing in the Jungle,*

> *Our teacher was a hungry and unhealthy looking undersized Nordic who, I felt, was terribly ill at ease before this assembly of thirty-odd Dagoes, Dutchmen, Jews, Bohunks and Turks of all ages… In the daytime he taught children their abc's; in the evening he became a stirrer of the Melting pot, and Americanizer. At the beginning of each session*

[115] Louis Adamic, *Laughing in the Jungle. The Autobiography of an American Immigrant*, (New York and London: Harper & Brothers), 1932.

he required us to rise, and with outstretched hands pledge allegiance to the country for which it stood.[116]

Adamic to leave his newspaper job and join the military which allowed him to gain citizenship. By 1925, after working many jobs and living the life of a struggling immigrant, Adamic landed a job as a clerk in a ship pilots office in San Pedro, California that afforded him the chance to develop as a translator of Yugoslav and Yugoslav-American culture and, moreover, as an American immigrant writer. The job provided him a chance to read and write, since he was usually left alone in the office and could complete most of the clerical work in half an hour.[117] Adamic's subsequent work that emerged in his thirties established him as an admired commentator on the American Jungle. One of Adamic's most consistent contentions was that Ellis Island was as central to American civilization as Plymouth Rock. In his journalism, fiction, autobiography, histories, public lectures, radio work, and in his contacts with American leaders throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s, Adamic dedicated himself to raising public awareness about the essential role of immigrants in the life of the nation.[118] Adamic chronicled the stories and contributions of famous and not so famous immigrants from a variety of ethnic groups. He wrote lucidly, empathetically, and sometimes unflatteringly about immigrant struggles for belonging, and he pushed for the broader American society to affirm its immigrant inheritance. Adamic's championing of cultural variety was part of a larger project to have difference serve progressive social change. For Adamic, diversity encouraged participation in a communally responsive society and allowed for ideas and personalities to discourage Americans from measuring their lives

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[116] Shiffman, *Rooting Multiculturalism: The Work of Louis Adamic*, 40.
[117] Shiffman, *Rooting Multiculturalism: The Work of Louis Adamic*, 41.
[118] Enyeart, *Death To Fascism: Louis Adamic's Fight for Democracy*,(Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2019), 106.

against mythical narratives of unbounded upward mobility. Until the United States could overcome its narrowly individualized and isolated notions of success, according to Adamic, the nation could not fully benefit from its multiethnic diversity.[119]

The Bureau for Intercultural Education was dedicated to the same ultimate goal: As Adamic defined, to harmonize and integrate, as far as possible, the various racial and cultural strains in our population without suppressing or destroying any good qualities in any one of them.[120] In 1934, DuBois joined Adamic in calling for a return to ethnic roots. The first question DuBois posed to teachers enrolled in the in-service course was, "What are you trying to do in develop enough pride in boys and girls of minority culture groups so that they will try to share their cultural heritage with others?"[121]

In moving closer to the ideology of Adamic, DuBois was moving closer to a more radically progressive cultural pluralistic ideology that called for a curriculum that not only taught the Anglo-Saxon about ethnic minorities and blacks, but aimed to teach and empower minorities to embrace their roots by teaching them about the important contributions their ancestral culture had on the U.S.[122] Mirroring the thoughts of Adamic, DuBois became certain that the assault on minority cultures had already taken a devastating toll on the second generation of immigrants. She believed that the disproportionate share of asocial behavior and criminality, which was attributed to the second generation immigrant, was caused by their not knowing who they were or from where they came. She stated that in order to free the imprisoned spirit of the second genera-

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[119] Enyeart, *Death To Fascism: Louis Adamic's Fight for Democracy*, 110.
[120] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941, 89.*
[121] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 60.
[122] Enyeart, *Death To Fascism: Louis Adamic's Fight for Democracy*, 112.

tion, a new emphasis would have to be place upon "being what we are," on the confident expression of ourselves as group-defined persons.[123] Progressive educators would have to both accept and teach the cultures of the immigrants. After Adamic, DuBois believed that not only would the children of the majority have to be taught to appreciate differences but the children of the minorities would have to be taught to confidently express those differences.

Building the Bureau on Intercultural Education

In 1934, the country was still under the economic malaise of the Great Depression. The Depression further exacerbated the negative feelings many Americans had for immigrants. The issue of jobs and the lack of resources in a society needed a strong response from institutions in order to stave off divisions that could lead to outright revolt. The election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Deal policies helped calm the economic angst in society and allocated funds that were used for infrastructure, construction, job creation in education, and artistic endeavors.[124] The hardships caused by the economic situation caused nativism to grow and increase the insecurities that caused alien-baiting to reach heights of the early 1920s.

Calls for deportations of aliens and denial of New Deal benefits to immigrants reached the halls of Congress. Discrimination in the availability of New Deal benefits was not uncommon. The federal government allowed for states to have control of many New Deal requirements. Southern states systematically place barriers in place to keep many blacks from receiving benefits. Domestic workers made up a large portion of the black workforce in the South and they were excluded by many states from New Deal benefit qualifications due to state law. The new increase in nativism was an expected result of the politics of fear and anxiety that took advantage

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[123] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*. 60.
[124] Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History*.

of the continued underlying issues that many old stock white Americans had with the growing population of ethnics.[125]

The first step in building the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education was a luncheon on October 27, 1933 in New York City. The luncheon was attended by representatives from the NAACP, the New York Board of Education and members of institutions representing the Chinese, Christian, and Jewish communities. The participants all agreed that there was a terrible lack of knowledge in the achievements and contributions made by the religious community to the macro-culture of the United States. DuBois reached out to different cultural organization groups and then with the help of the Dr. Everett Clinchy of the Jewish Publication Association was able to set up the Service Bureau's first conference at Teachers College. The conference invited academics and leaders from different cultural and racial backgrounds to gain information. At the conference the attendees were placed in small groups. Information from each group was collected for use in creating a pamphlets that could be used by teachers in high schools.[126]

The meeting and conference led the creation of a National Advisory Committee and the opening of an office in February of 1934. There were two important factors which permitted the organization to be launched at this time: first, the availability of manpower through the newly-created Civil Works Administration, and second, the interest of the American Jewish Committee in the work of DuBois. Millions of unemployed white collar workers, artists, and intellectuals were put to work by the federal government during the winter of 1933-1934.[127] Universities such as Columbia were asked to develop and oversee research-related projects that could be staffed by unemployed graduate students. Mabel Carney, a Columbia University faculty member who was a

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[125] Tindall and Shi, *America: A Narrative History*.
[126] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 228.
[127] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 229.

professor of rural education at Teachers College and a woman closely identified with desegregation and black educational aspirations served an important role. Carney as a faculty advisor for a CWA project that recruited twelve individuals to do part-time research for the new organization. They began work in February of 1934 and were commissioned to continue the research into ethnic history and cultural contributions which DuBois had begun earlier. By the end of the year, seventy-four different pieces of classroom materials had been developed by these workers. Plans were formulated with Thomas Nelson and Company for the publication of ten booklets, each on the contributions of a different American ethnic group.[128]

The Bureau received permission from Adamic to reprint his controversial article "Millions New Immigrants"[129] on the second generation to which he contributed a short preface giving his blessing to the new organization. Thousands of copies were sent out during the first year with over 900 copies being mailed to secondary school principals around the country. The publicity allowed for DuBois to receive invitations to start Woodbury Plan programs at a number of high and junior high schools in the Midwest and Northeast. She wanted the Bureau to serve as a resource for teachers wanting to expand appreciation of diversity.[130]

DuBois first came into contact with the American Jewish Committee (AJC) when she was speaking to an audience at a conference at Columbia University. AJC board member Theresa Mayer Durlach was impressed with DuBois's work and thought it could be helpful in the fight against growing Hitlerism in the U.S. She observed the program at the Englewood High School in New Jersey and then committed to finance a much more ambitious experiment and brought the project to the attention of the American Jewish Committee. Later after meeting with

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[128] Montalto, A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941, 111.
[129] DuBois Papers "Reading and Teaching Materials" Box 30.
[130] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 111.

Rabii Jacob Weinsteen, DuBois was informed that the committee wanted to finance a one year experiment in a number of different metropolitan schools. Five thousand dollars was allocated for the purpose of hiring field workers to conduct the project during the 1934-1935 school year.[131]

With the full backing of the American Jewish Conference, DuBois began to spread the ideas of the Woodbury plan. The AJC became a financial partner and gained considerable sway in the politics of the organization. The AJC was primarily concerned with controlling the spread of anti-Semitism. DuBois thus began to push her vision of increasing cultural democracy through education to teach people about their importance to the American story and increasing the level of respect across ethnic communities. Her vision led the way for innovative social justice pedagogy but eventually brought her into conflict with the AJC and other more conservative forces within and outside of the Bureau. The project revealed the potential conflict in purpose between those whose primary concern was the change of majority attitudes and those who coupled such a concern with a strong desire to change the self-perceptions of minority students.[132]

Units and Materials

In each school, Bureau staff members called together committees of teachers, students, community, and ethnic leaders to assist in planning and execution the programs. Two hundred teachers from participating schools enrolled in separate in-service courses given by DuBois to prepare them in leading the assemblies. The assemblies were held at regular intervals during the

[131] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 112.
[132] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 112.

academic year with the Bureau handling arrangements for outside speaker and guest performances. Factual materials were handed out to student in homeroom discussions were scheduled around the theme of the ethnic cultural contributions.[133]

Classroom materials were important in driving the discussion. For each racial and ethnic group being studied there was a pamphlet of information that had a purpose of not only creating a respect across cultural lines but also increasing self-awareness and respect amongst those children of the ethnic group. In studying the Jews, the materials created taught the general history of the Hebrew People in the world, followed by a history of the Jews in the making of America. The literature debunks myths and prejudices about Jews in the world and in American society.[134] Classroom materials also focused on scientific and other contributions made by Jewish people in society. The emotional component that was measured by using Neumann's research came into play by emphasizing the arts through music and plays. Different ethnic groups or races had different points of emphasis in the literature and classroom materials created for their assembly. Black music and scientific endeavors[135], Mexican cuisine and history in America, or Chinese innovation[136] and Polish and Scottish rich history and roots were all examples of intercultural lesson materials.[137] The classroom materials were all followed by a discussion and questionnaire that forced the students to reflect on what they have learned and give the Bureau an idea on the effects it was having on the students.[138]

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[133] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," Box 30.
[134] See Appendix B
[135] See Appendix C
[136] See Appendix D
[137] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," Box 30.
[138] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," Box 30.

The questions illustrate that the under the leadership of DuBois, the organizers of the ethnic assemblies and studies materials were paying close attention to the impact on minority children. The attitudes of young people of one cultural background toward another was important, but the issue of minority students feeling of self-worth was especially important. The records kept by the field workers revealed the sharp interest in second generation and minority cultural awareness. The Bureau learned that positive attitudes toward their own ethnic group was raised after being exposed to the programs. In Tenafly High School for example, children were less fearful of being identified as members of a minority group after the German assembly. Similar results were reported for Italian, black and Polish students. By not only looking to educate groups about others but increasing pride in self, the work being done in the high schools was attacking the discriminatory mindset that effected all groups.[139]

Students were given questionnaires in order to gather their comments on their possible change of attitudes. General statements from a student in Madison, New Jersey reinforced the importance of teaching the majority students about the contribution of minorities. Students were asked the question:[140] Have you changed your attitude toward any of the groups presented this term? Statements consisted of; "I have changed my attitude toward the group presented because it brings a worldly brother-hood to all. I have learned to appreciate other races besides my own (10th Grader)," Yes, toward the Jews.[141] I thought they came over to this country for money only, (10th Grader)" Yes, I find the Negro and Chinese people as much more learned and cultured than I had previously supposed (10th Grader)."[142]

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[139] DuBois, "High Schools Research," Box 17.
[140] See Appendix E
[141] DuBois, "High Schools Research," Box 17.
[142] DuBois, "High Schools Research," Box 17.

There were many positive comments from students: for example one student from Englewood Junior High after taking part in the assemblies reported: "I have learned to call all people my neighbors. I have learned to love their ways of living and to respect them more for what they have done. I think these programs have opened my eyes to the fact that each country and each set of people has its own beautiful music, colors, and many other things (9th Girl)."[143] "I have learned that hatred between different races of people is mostly caused by propaganda which is spread around during wars (9th Boy)."[144] "I have changed my attitude toward most of the groups. For instance I've always considered Italians as outcast people but the programs have changed me. Probably a colored program would change my attitude toward the colored race (9th boy)."[145]

The issue with diversity came with the fact that most of the schools that were in the program did not have high minority population in the schools. The only inner-city school participating in the project was Benjamin Franklin High School, a school in a working class neighborhood of East Harlem with a heavy enrollment of second generation Italian and Puerto Rican students. The teachers at Benjamin Franklin agreed that the Bureau program had made the students more interested in and proud of their background. Field Secretary Eckerson was elated that "the children seemed to have gained a new conception of American culture and what their people have contributed to it."[146]

Radio Program

In the summer of 1938 the DuBois took advantage of the New Deal stimulus to gain the funds and infrastructure to start a revolutionary and inspiring radio program. The Federal Radio

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[143] DuBois, "High Schools Research," Box 17.
[144] DuBois, "High Schools Research," Box 17.
[145] DuBois, "High Schools Research," Box 17.
[146] DuBois, "High Schools Research," Box 17.

Project of the United States was a program designed to provide jobs, educate and bring together the American public with the broadcasting of educational programs on network radio stations. Funds were made available by the Workers Program Agency (WPA), and DuBois served as consultant for the series. The director of the Radio Program and member of the Progressive Education Association William D. Boutwell, chose DuBois because of her experience in Intercultural Education. The series was named "Americans All—Immigrants All" and consisted of 26 half hour programs that were broadcast on Sunday afternoons between November 13, 1933 and May 7, 1939, on over 100 CBS affiliated radio stations. DuBois supervised the research activities for the show and was in charge of educational follow-up.[147]

The programs used dramatization and live orchestral music in order to keep the listeners attention. The idea was to make educational radio interesting and entertaining and as opposed to the usual monotone and drab educational platform. Ethnic group representative committees were created in order to review the content of each ethnic program. Louis Adamic, Everett Clinchy, and other leaders in the field of Intercultural Education served as advisors for the series. The series was highly advertised in both English and foreign languages. Brochures and letters were sent to high school principals across the country and a handbook of the recordings was prepared and distributed with the recordings.[148]

DuBois received a salary with the Radio project for an extended period of time due to monies spent by the American Jewish Committee in support of the program. The radio program stirred up great interest from the public and led to a permanent division of Intercultural Education being set up at the Office of Education with DuBois placed in charge. The radio program

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[147] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 114.
[148] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 114.

was important for the government to establish due to its fear of a destruction in American unity caused by growing divisions in the world. Europe was in constant upheaval during the 1930's as Nazi and fascist leaders were growing in strength and causing many to question the ability of a nation of mixed heritage to survive and thrive. The expansion movements of the Germans, Italians, and Japanese placed an importance on the radio program initiative "to avert a unity-destroying explosion of ethnic dynamite" according to Louise Gerson in *The Hyphenate.*[149]

The growth and spread of fascism was also causing a growing refugee problem that was dividing the nation. The radio program was also designed to educate people about the immigrants who were seeking asylum from Nazi aggression and persecution, the Spanish Civil War and the fleeing masses of Jews and other groups from Asia. Frank N. Trager, who oversaw the AJC expenditures in support of the radio series, recalled in later years that the refugee issue weighed heavily on the minds of committee leaders and probably accounted for their willingness to support the series.[150]

DuBois's influence in Bureau curriculum choices became evident when the programming was based on a particular group for each program. The committee chose the approach to highlight groups separately over the suggestion that the programs be general by telling the story of mingling and integration of peoples in America, the rise of civilization in American, and the disappearance of cultural and social divisions. The decision to proceed with the group programs

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[149] Gerson, Louis,*The Hyphenate in Recent American Politics and Diplomacy*, (Lawrence Kansas: The Uni versity of Kansas Press, 1964).
[150] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 117.

was not without discussion and disagreements. The committee was eventually persuaded by Du-Bois's argument that the only way to dislodge a negative stereotype was to deliberately create a positive one.[151]

The lesson materials for each group did not go into lengthy discussions and materials on the overall contributions of each ethnic group. Instead of highlighting a summary of a particular group's contributions, each program concentrated on a single outstanding contribution, such as Scandinavian "gift of cooperation," or the German contribution to the growth of democracy in the United States. The interdependence and inter-relationship of all groups was stressed. "Each group as it came was advantaged by the work of the group which had come before, and that each early group had advantage from the coming of the later groups," as DuBois pointed out. DuBois said, "The goal was to make each listener feel that he was the latest line in the unending chain of a developing American culture.[152]

Unhappiness with some of the programs were evident at times, as some issues were pointed out by black and Jewish leaders. On one occasion black leaders Roy Wilkins and George Murphy Jr. of the NAACP objected to the emphasis on servile and menial labor in the black program. The script read, "like a history of the progress of white people using the labor and talents of Negro."[153] They, along with others protested against a song sung by black folk singer Jules Bledsoe and succeeded in persuading CBS officials to re-record the last fifteen minutes of the program, so that the wax recordings of the program would not carry the offensive song.[154] The

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[151] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941,* 117.
[152] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education,* 50.
[153] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941,* 115.
[154] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941,* 115.

song was considered offensive because it was believed by the black leaders that it perpetuated the black stereotype of the happy menial laboring black.

The Jewish issues with the programming was a major cause in the AJC reassessing the value of ethnic education. The organization were not happy with the idea of being singled out in programming for their ethnicity. The AJC and Jewish leaders were more concerned with curbing the growth of anti-Semitism in society by educating the masses. They were not happy with a curriculum that they felt singled them out and they feared would do them more harm than good in the long run. They were not interested in the DuBois model of Intercultural Education that included placing an emphasis on teaching about the minority and highlighting its culture in an effort to create pride. They were more interested in the "melting pot" general education that included the Jew and stressed the dangers of fascism and nativism. By giving non-Jews an appreciation for Jewish culture and Jewish contributions to American society, Intercultural Education hoped to prevent a mass outbreak of anti-Semitism.

The separate racial and ethnic group approach proved to be an issue within the Bureau and was used to help discredit DuBois and led to a major schism. The separate group format proved to attract ethnic listeners, especially when their group was being highlighted but it did not attract enough Anglo listeners to make a significant impact. DuBois's idealism and single-minded focus to use the radio programming and the Bureau as a change agent to effect ethnic hatred and racism was ahead of her time. It can be debated, if she pushed too far too fast.

Building Intercultural Education in a High School

DuBois stressed that in order to start a program of Intercultural Education, there needed to be the establishment of a democratic atmosphere. Decent intercultural attitudes cannot be built

in a classroom environment of rote memorization. Teachers must conceive that their task requires that they know and like the children. Students must know that they count, belong, are trusted, and welcomed in order for intercultural attitudes to be built. DuBois encouraged problem centered learning experiences that dealt with issues that were real. An intercultural centered curriculum takes issue with real human problems that frequently involve racial, religious, socioeconomic, and ethnic in tensions. Centers of interest with rich possibilities for Intercultural Education might be humor, adventure, exploration, friendship, mystery, religion, sports, festivals, heroism, and romance. All of these may draw upon personal experience, radio, movies, magazines, newspapers, comic strips, poetry, fiction, and biography.

In training schools to start an intercultural teaching program, the Bureau stressed that there were possible units that were important in order to best deal with questions that could affect all groups. Possible units consisted of the following titles, "Getting Along in School," "The Jewish People in our Community and in America," "Religions in American Life," "People who Live in our community," "The Negroes in American Life," "Country and City People," "Races to which the People of the World Belong," "Education, Prejudice in American Life," "People coming to America from other Countries-Immigration," "People who make up America," "Legislation for Civil Rights," "How People get along in Business and Industry," "What makes Me and other Students What we are?," "How our Country gets Along with other Countries," and "Contributions to American Life from Various Groups."[155]

I believe it is important to address a couple of possible units more in-depth. In creating a unit on Jewish People in the Community, the first question has to be; what is the Jewish Religion? What do they believe in it is important to teach the students about why the Jewish people

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[155] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," Box 31.

were so badly treated in Germany during Hitler's time. DuBois stressed that the in teaching about the Jewish people, as with other groups, it was important to use art, highlight cultural contributions, and the ways Gentiles and Jews are alike. As pointed out earlier, the singling out of Jews in the literature and in units was problematic for the American Jewish Committee.[156]

"People who live in the Community" and "The Negro in American Life" were two other units emphasized by the Bureau. The units would address to students the different groups, races, and economic classes that lived in their particular neighborhoods. In teaching about blacks, the questions addressed the issue of black and white perceived differences in blood or ability. Students are employed to think of the ways black and white people are the same. The separate approach of looking at the black, Jew, Chinese, and other groups to build cultural pride as well as address discrimination was emphasized during the 1930s.[157]

It was an important aspect of the curriculum for Intercultural Education be open for interpretation and flexibility due to the different demographics in different high schools. Schools that were overwhelmingly white or black had limitations in their ability to address community issues. DuBois and the Bureau stressed that units should be tailored to address the group dynamics that fostered prejudice. Teachers are trained to have free discussion in their units to increase student understanding of their prejudice and identify their democratic values as well as those that are undemocratic. Teachers were given samples of questions to ask in homogeneous classrooms that were designed to bring out more clearly the intercultural climate of the community and its student members. Examples of some questions included; Is it true that Negroes doing the same

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[156] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," Box 31.
[157] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," Box 31.

work as whites get lower wages in some cities?, Who are Citizens?, What is prejudice? Cite examples of discrimination in your neighborhood?[158]

Teacher training and the teachers own attitude was instrumental in the success of Intercultural Education. Whether the name of social justice pedagogy is Intercultural Education, Multicultural Education, or Critical Race Theory, the emphasis is on teachers facilitating student growth through effective questioning that spotlights different points of view in order to increase social justice and inter-group harmony.

Conclusion

As stated in chapter two, the early years of the DuBois's work that was championed by many of the leaders in the organization philosophically pushed the melting pot approach to learning about different racial and ethnic groups. The early curriculum materials sought to develop worldly mind-set not ethnic consciousness.[159] The first members of the Bureau, including its first Chairman, were leading advocates of the internationalist point of view. The original series of ethnic assemblies were part of a three-year sequence of assemblies, of which the second year was devoted to the interdependence of the world's peoples in such fields as science and invention, the fine arts and literature. The focus of the concern in the early years was the children of the majority, whose need to understand the strangers in their midst was more important than the stranger needing to understand themselves. The psychological effects of cultural education on the minority child was secondary to building tolerance in the majority child. The shift of the Bureaus teachings and ideology was influence greatly by Louis Adamic and his ideas on cultural plurality. For many people saying no to the "melting pot" philosophy was considered anti-American.

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[158] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," Box 32.
[159] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 112.

DuBois insisted the Service Bureaus mission and goal was aligned with Adamic's view and not centered on the belief that all cultures should be melted into one. This philosophy did not mean that the Bureau believed in creating separate cultural enclaves that produced a separate and divided America. The goal most important to DuBois was the trumpeting of an atmosphere of sharing the ethnic richness of the whole in an effort to rid all children of the shame that they feel about their backgrounds. An education experience that creates pride and respect across cultural lines and increased understanding that helps rid the macro-culture of racial, religious, ethnic violence, and injustice.[160]

[160] Dan Shiffman, *Rooting Multiculturalism: The Work of Louis Adamic*, 25.

Chapter 4

DuBois's Fight To Control The Bureau

Rachel DuBois was part of a wave of educational progressive reform that was centered at Teachers College. Educational leaders like George Counts, Harold Ruggs, and William H. Kirkpatrick, all connected to John Dewey, led a social reconstructionist crusade in education. They believed in using education to change the social order and create positive longstanding social change. This reconstructionist crusade began in 1932 at a meeting of the Progressive Educational Association (PEA). George Counts was a progressive educational leader known for his affiliation with the social reconstructionist movement and his promotion of teachers challenging students to critique society. Counts challenged the PEA crowd to cast the school as a lever in transforming the society.[161] Reconstructionist challenged educators to face every social issue, come to grips with life in all its stark reality and develop a realistic and comprehensive theory of social welfare, fashion a compelling vision and become emboldened in indoctrinating students to facilitate progressive social change.

This reconstructionist educational crusade was important to the support DuBois received in her quest to further her brand of Intercultural Education. But reconstructionists were critiqued from both the right and the left. Many on the left viewed reconstructionist as naïve and unrealistic in their hopes that school could change the capitalist social order. Critics charged that reconstructionists failed to recognize the deep hold of class structure and capitalistic order. The criticism levied on reconstructionists is consistent with the criticism that DuBois witnessed from the

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[161] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 115.

left by critics who saw her belief in teaching ethic pride and cultural equality as counter- productive to the greater goal of macro-cultural assimilation.[162]

The reconstructionists were attacked from the right by conservative news outlets, religious organizations and conservative leaders who branded them as part of a communist crusade. By 1936, 21 states had enacted special oaths of allegiance. The National Association of Manufacturers used advertising to improve the image of capitalists and commissioned a textbook survey that led to attacks on the Rugg textbooks. Counts, Rugg, and Dewey even came under Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) surveillance.[163] DuBois was labeled a communist by many on the right while also being called to testify in front of Congress at the House Un-American Activity Committee hearings.[164]

World War II had an impact on educational reform in the United States prior to the U.S. entry. Educational leaders became preoccupied with a massive national defense effort that brought changes in the social and pedagogical climate.[165] In mobilization for victory in the war the group most directly responsible for social studies, the National Committee on Social Studies (NCSS), suggested new emphases, readjustments, and acceleration in social studies programs. The progressive belief in the perfectibility or improvement of society was tempered by the war.[166] Social criticism and social problems were deemphasized in favor of efficiency-oriented citizenship education with emphasis on strengthening the American people's faith in democracy. The committee recommended that schools and agencies use pedagogy that emphasized emotion

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[162] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 116.
[163] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 117.
[164] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 136.
[165] Evans and W., *The Social Studies Wars: What Should We Teach The Children*. (New York: Teachers College Press, 2004), 70.
[166] Ronald Evans, *The Social Studies Wars: What Should We Teach The Children*, 70.

to drive loyalty rather than social change. The late 1930s saw a shift from open acceptance of progressive social change to a patriotic loyalty to country that intensified as the U.S. entered the war.[167]

This shift in liberal progressive acceptance of educational pedagogy effected the ability of DuBois to lead the Intercultural Education Bureau. DuBois continued and further entrenched her demand that the Bureau continue to teach the increasingly criticized ethnic pride portion of the curriculum. The more conservative members of the Bureau pushed to have her removed from the Bureau during the late 1930s.[168]

The War and Progressive Education

By 1936, the era of New Deal social reform was beginning give way to a push for conformity and loyalty. In 1938 the House of Representatives established the Un-American Activities Committee to investigate loyalty. Its expansive definition of "un-American" included communists, labor radicals, and the left of the Democratic Party, and its hearings led to the dismissal of dozens of federal employees on charges of subversion. In 1940, Congress enacted the Smith Act, which made it a federal crime to "teach, advocate, or encourage" the overthrow of the government. The law resembled the Alien and Sedition Acts from World War I that allowed for the arrest of anyone who criticized the U.S. government or joined organizations advocating the overthrow of the U.S. government. During this burgeoning of new measures, anticommunists also succeeded in passing the Nationality Act, which granted the executive branch the right to denaturalize a citizen who ten years prior to receiving citizenship had been affiliated with any organization supporting the overthrow of the U.S. government. President Roosevelt permitted the FBI to

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[167] Ronald Evans, *The Social Studies Wars: What Should We Teach The Children*, 71.
[168] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 89.

expand its surveillance operations, which included allowing Hoover to hire more than four thousand new agents and more than six thousand new staff members between 1936 and 1945. A similar pursuit of radical views took place at the state level. The New York legislature's Rapp-Coudert Committee held sweeping hearings investigating "subversive" influences in New York City's public colleges, resulting in the firing in 1941 of some sixty faculty members charged with communist sympathies.[169]

This regression of progressivism in America was led by an ominous fear that the international crisis taking place in Europe and Asia would come to the U.S. By the mid-1930s it was clear that the disintegration of rule of law in international relations was leading to certain war on the horizon. Starting in 1931, Japan was seeking to expand its military and economic power in Asia, and invaded Manchuria. By 1937, Japanese troops moved further into China, overrunning Nanking and wreaking havoc on hundreds of thousands of Chinese civilians. In Europe, Hitler brutally consolidated his rule in Germany before embarking on a campaign to control the continent of Europe. Hitler sent troops into the Rhineland and annexed Austria, the Sudentenland and Czechoslavakia, Italy backed Hitler and invaded Ethiopia, and Facist Franco emerged victorious in Spain. The U.S. along with France and Britain attempted to appease Hitler by allowing him to keep his new gains, if he promised not to continue his aggression.[170]

Most Americans were not alarmed by these happenings because the U.S. was still more concerned with the spread of communism than fascist totalitarian regimes. Many large American corporations did business in Germany and took advantage of Germany's government backed draconian working conditions that limited the rights of workers. The nation's public did not know of

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[169] Shiffman, *Rooting Multiculturalism: The Work of Louis Adamic*, 69.
[170] Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History*, 345.

the expanding genocide that was killing and imprisoning millions of Jewish people during this time.[171] But the AJC and many progressives were increasingly aware of the problem, although not to its full extent until later in the war. The refugee crisis coming from Germany and other parts of Europe caused by Hitler's aggression was hard to ignore. The persecution of Jewish people in Europe was a major reason the AJC objected to DuBois's approach to teach separate ethnic and racial groups in intercultural education. The AJC leaders were understandably worried that a lesson that singled out the Jew as a separate cultural group world be counterproductive to their main objective of combating anti-Semitism. In a letter to Service Bureau committee member Leonard Covello, DuBois stated, "Our underlying philosophy of cultural democracy is being challenged more and more because of the war crisis."[172]

Fear persisted among the Antifascists in America that an aggressive pluralistic stance on culture and backing the separate ethnic curriculum of DuBois was a move toward communism. The fear of being labeled a communist by the government was in effect keeping Bureau reconstructionist from continuing to move boldly on their agenda of cultural democratic pluralism that intended to address, not only the anti-alien problem but the black problem. The European and Asian upheaval and the resulting refugee crisis proved to be an irritant to American society that caused many to question DuBois's philosophy for the Bureau.

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[171] Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History*, 345.
[172] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 234.

Schism in the Bureau

The approach DuBois implemented for ethnic and racial groups in assembly programs, curriculum units and lesson plans was not supported by progressives who favored a more moderate approach to teaching an assimilationist curriculum. The argument DuBois made for the separate approach was that it was the only effective way to positively alter the self-image of minority students. Race and ethnicity, she believed, was as basic force in American society. It would be necessary to confront the issues of race and ethnicity boldly and directly, in a way that left a unmistakable and lasting impression on students.

Conservative members of the Bureau worried that this approach would rekindle pride in ethnic heritage among those they considered to be culturally assimilated. They also worried that the political repercussions of such a program, because identification with cultural heritage might not be easily divorced from feelings of allegiance to foreign governments. Many ethnic minorities worried that accentuation of group divisions within the school curriculum might place these groups in an exposed and precarious position, thus postponing their entrance into the mainstream of American life. DuBois's continued push to include what some viewed as a less integrationist platform caused the Bureau to lose its support from the Progressive Education Association (PEA). In September 1938, DuBois was informed that the PEA made the decision pull its support of the Bureau on the basis that they did not think the program was broad or comprehensive enough. PEA pulling its support ended an attempt by DuBois to cement the Intercultural Education movement under the umbrella of the Progressive Educational Association.[173]

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[173] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 87.

The approach under DuBois's leadership stressed the separate study of history and contributions of ethnic groups to American society. In 1938, at the time the PEA was pulling its support, the Bureau had gained national prominence due to the radio programming and gained a large number of new contracts as a result. On December 14, 1938, the New York City Board of Education (NYCBE) mandated that each school in the city hold assemblies stressing the importance of tolerance and freedom for all. The NYCBE contract caused a rippling effect for the Bureau offices as it received numerous requests from New York area teachers looking to set up assembly programs. The New York board asked the Bureau to give its first in-service course for teachers in the field of Intergroup Education. DuBois taught a course at New York University that enrolled over 40 teachers in the Spring of 1939, and it was repeated during the following Fall and Spring of 1940. Requests also came in from other Northeastern and Midwestern cities such as, Philadelphia and Cleveland.[174]

With all of this mix of negativity and positivity came a shift at the top of the organization that eventually led to the exit of DuBois. During this time the AJC, the major financial support of the Bureau, decided that the Bureau was in need of a major reorganization in order to sustain its financial backing. The AJC demanded a reorientation of the organization's philosophy and inevitably a change in leadership. DuBois was asked by the AJC to share the leadership of the Bureau, as she was beginning to lose her hold on the direction of the Bureau. DuBois accepted a reorganization of the Bureau's leadership by turning over executive responsibilities and function to Edward Ashley Bayne and she would serve only as the Educational Director.[175] Beginning in January of 1939, Edward Ashley Bayne was appointed Executive Secretary of the Bureau but he only

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[174] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 99.
[175] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 234.

lasted 6 months in the position. Besides lacking the skills to be an effective administrator, Bayne suggested that the Bureau change its position of black equal rights for fear of offending large numbers of white supporters.[176]

Stewart Cole, a Canadian born professor of religious education took over for Bayne as Executive Director in mid-1939. Cole's qualifications for the job included his experience as a consultant for the Bureau in developing curriculum projects for New York schools, and the hope that he could prove to be an effective fund-raiser from non-Jewish sources. When Cole came on board DuBois understood that although she was relinquishing some of her power at the behest of the Bureau's largest benefactor, she still believed that as Educational Director she was still had an important voice in the direction of the Bureau. Cole came into the organization and began to make dramatic changes to the direction of the Bureau, as well as lead an assault on DuBois's character and professionalism.[177]

Cole complained of DuBois's intransigence on certain issues and her lack of loyalty to him in important matters. He accused her of not being professional, while causing dissention and alienation between the Bureau and influential leaders in the field of Intergroup Education. Cole attacked DuBois's judgement and discipline and saw her as an individualist who was not suited to running an organization over the long term. The two years that Cole led the Bureau was the beginning of the end of DuBois's influence in the Bureau.

DuBois resented not being consulted on important policy decisions, and complained that Cole administered the Bureau in an imperious manner, rarely holding staff conferences, and intimidating the staff into playing a subservient role. DuBois also believed that she was being

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[176] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 90.
[177] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," Box 34.

pushed aside because of her gender. She saw her displacement from power as the result of the sexist forces of the era, which did not represent the mission of the Bureau. DuBois felt strongly that the fundamental reason that she was losing power in the Bureau was discrimination based largely on the fact that she was not a man.[178]

Cole also faulted DuBois and her associates in the Bureau for what he considered a misguided use of time on the ethnic and racial contributions approach to Intercultural Education. He called for the Bureau to place greater emphasis upon publications that stressed cultural likenesses among the people of America. Cole was not a fan of the Bureau's "Americans All Immigrants All" Radio program. Cole believed it was more important to teach loyalty to American culture as it was to teach respect for cultural differences. He used his position to set limits upon the expression of cultural differences in American society.[179]

DuBois problems were not with Cole alone, she had a number of other members of the board who were alienated from DuBois and who were concerned with her highlighting separate cultures. DuBois saw Cole as the instigator of her problems but the majority of the board no longer condoned her separate group approach and had reached a decision to place her on the sidelines if not remove her completely. In January 1940, DuBois was informed that the Executive Committee had met in a special session and voted to offer her a six month leave of absence. To make matters worse, in reporting the Board's action to John Marshall of the General Educations Board (GEB), Cole mentioned that the leave was offered to allow for DuBois to complete her doctoral work with the probability that she would seek psychiatric advice. Her adversaries in

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[178] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," Box 34.
[179] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 234.

the Bureau were by this time trumpeting a belief that DuBois was stressed and psychologically ill.[180]

DuBois took a sabbatical that included visiting W.E.B. DuBois as news of her being ill spread amongst many in the Bureau. DuBois was diagnosed by two psychologists who assured the board that her sanity was unimpaired, but the attack on her mental fitness to lead had caused considerable damage. Board members Frank N. Trager and Everett Clinchy were two major adversaries to DuBois's leadership at the Bureau and they pushed for Cole to have sole authority. Trager advised DuBois to resign and set up shop in elsewhere, while DuBois sought legal counsel as she considered using the courts to regain her position. She attempted to make peace with Cole by asking him to meet with her so they could pray together in order to resolve their differences, but he refused. At the height of the growing schism between pro-DuBois forces and the more powerful anti-DuBois members, a compromise allowed for DuBois to be made Secretary of a semi-autonomous Teacher Education Committee at a board meeting on April 29, 1940. In June, after this meeting DuBois stated in a letter to colleague and supporter Leonard Covello, "Our underlying philosophy of cultural democracy is being challenged more and more because of the war crisis."[181] DuBois also received the Board's authorization to temporarily transfer relevant office records and materials to her home near New York University as a convenience for her teaching program during the summer.[182]

General Education Board Report

During the months in which DuBois was being demoted in the Bureau, the General Education Board (GEB) was simultaneously conducting a thorough examination and evaluation of

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[180] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," Box 34.
[181] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941,* 234.
[182] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," Box 34.

the Bureau's programs and philosophies in response to a grant request from DuBois. The GEB report summarized the findings of a Committee of Eight and a director of research appointed by the GEB and the Service Bureau of Intercultural Education on September 15, 1939. The report appraised the work of Service Bureau and especially its program for teachers, and recommended ways in which it might strengthen and improve its program. The evaluation ended up being used by DuBois's detractors to further attack the cultural pluralist approach.[183]

DuBois had hoped the GEB would appropriate funds for the direct support of a program in Intercultural Education. The GEB refused her appeal for direct support due to its reservations about procedures that singled out minority groups such as the Jews. The GEB was reluctant to undertake a new programming initiative at a time when pressures were building up to discontinue the program in general education. But the GEB decided to do an appraisal of what the Bureau's work was accomplishing. DuBois tried to persuade the foundation to sponsor a demonstration project in one school district through which an intensive and comprehensive program of Intercultural Education would be tested and evaluated. The GEB rejected DuBois's proposal and decided to hire an outside investigator who would look into the classroom practices of teachers who were using the Bureau's materials and receiving its advice.[184]

A committee was formed during the months of June and July in 1939, and spent the next year probing into the operations of the Bureau. The curriculum materials were evaluated by a specially selected group of experts. Questionnaires were sent to purchasers of these material to obtain their reaction to them. A second set of questionnaires were sent to purchasers of the

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[183] DuBois, "Service Bureau Classroom Materials," Box 34.
[184] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 70.

"Americans All-Immigrants All" recordings. The committee spent most of its time on the Bureau's program of assisting teachers. They investigated the courses and analyzed their impact. The committee reviewed the members teacher training courses over a two year period, held interviews and distributed questionnaires to teachers who had enrolled in the course. They visited the teacher's classrooms to observe the effects of the course on teaching techniques and student attitudes, interviewed principals, superintendents and students.[185]

The Report produced by the GEB was critical of the ideological orientations of the Bureau. The philosophy guiding the Bureau under DuBois's leadership was singled-out in the report by using teacher interviews and reactions to Bureau's courses and materials. The report found that teachers objected to the emphasis on the differences in various cultures. The teacher interviews and questionnaires were used to cast doubt on the ethnic studies approach. Montalta points out in his analysis of the GEB study, there was little evidence the majority of teachers actually objected to the Bureau's philosophy of cultural democracy. He points out that Otto Klineberg and Genevieve Chase, both researchers for the GEB, had certain negative preconceptions that colored the report's findings.[186] They reported to the GEB that teachers were fearful that programs built on themes of cultural contributions of various groups would bring about an increase consciousness of differences among children. They reported that teachers felt that the Bureau materials and methods were contrary to American ideals and encouraged adherence to old-world habits rather than adaptations to American life. The GEB report was ultimately used as an additional reason to remove the cultural integrationists from positions of power within the Bureau.

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[185] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 235.
[186] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 235.

The Bureau, at the same time, decided to hire a publications expert to assume overall responsibility for the preparation and distribution of printed materials. Bruno Lasker, who was chosen for the position, launched an attack against the Bureau's curriculum materials from within.[187]

Bruno Lasker was a German born magazine editor who worked for a Rockefeller funded inquiry (1923-1930), and who served as head of the Committee on Race Attitudes in Children. The inquiry produced materials that became foundation research used for his 1929 book, *Race Attitudes in Children.* The book showed how young children absorb unfavorable racial stereotypes. In his study of the Bureau materials, Lasker attacked materials created by DuBois and her colleagues, calling for the Bureau leadership to completely reevaluate and restructure the materials. Lasker was an old friend of DuBois, but he did not hold back his candor in criticizing the materials as he advocated for the Bureau's board to change its material publication policy.[188]

Lasker did not take into account the fact that the Bureau had overcome so much in such a short period of time. He thought it was irresponsible to compress a complicated subject, like the history or cultural contributions of a particular ethnic group, into units of a few pages in length, as they contained disconnected and often superficial facts and information. DuBois was open to such criticism and admitted that the materials needed scholarly updating. Lasker, like the GEB study, was very critical of the Bureau's separate treatment given to certain ethnic groups. The GEB and Lasker both argued in favor of a change of attitude and philosophy in Bureau leadership that would be less concerned with highlighting different cultures, but would be more concerned with the speed of the assimilation process by teaching eliminating group consciousness.[189]

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[187] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 243.
[188] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 243.
[189] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 244.

DuBois's contention that a group must be helped to achieve some pride in its own background to function cooperatively and heal the inferiority complex that effects minority groups was under full attack by new Bureau leadership after the GEB and Lasker studies. The argument made by Cole, Durlach, and other anti-DuBois leaders of the Bureau was that there was no real conflict between the first and second generation of immigrants. Denying the vast literature on the marginalization of the second generation, they also argued that the immigrants' only real desire was to become good Americans and be accepted by their peers. The separate study of each group was seen as a detriment to the overall cause of assimilation and creation of a society that is cohesive and accepting of its minority populations.

While these assimilationist arguments weakened DuBois's position in the Bureau, she was mostly passive in her battle to keep her position. DuBois attempted to use reconciliation through pacifist means like group prayer, along with verbal arguments to explain what she believed were sexist and conservative positions. She thought the weight of her arguments were enough to eventually sway those within the Bureau to see that her ideas were superior. Her protest against the strong armed tactics to rid her of the leadership proved fruitless, especially after she witnessed the ouster of many of her supporters within the Bureau. Two prominent members of the board resigned in protest of the ouster of numerous DuBois supporters who worked in research, writing, and field work. Finally in the spring of 1941, as special sub-committee of the board which had been appointed to decide DuBois's fate turned in its recommendation. She was asked to submit her resignation and her two year fight over control of the Bureau and an important chapter in DuBois's career had come to an end.[190]

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[190] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 71.

Conclusion

Rachel Davis DuBois began the Bureau for Intercultural Education as a center for curriculum formation, creation of teaching materials, and teacher training. The Bureau's mission was the fostering of group harmony across racial and ethnic cultural lines. The Bureau was part of a progressive educational movement being led by a group of educators being groomed at Teachers College, Columbia University. Influenced by anti-fascist, cultural pluralist Louis Adamic, DuBois was inspired to lead the Bureau to address the sense of inferiority felt by second generation ethnics and black Americans. She began to pioneer new pedagogies to build student self-esteem, as well as teach each group to respect other cultures in the effort to create inter-group harmony.

The American Jewish Committee was not happy with DuBois's emphasis on having separate units and radio programs that place a spotlight on the positives of each culture. The progressive education community became split on the pedagogical direction of the Bureau. There were those who had problems with anything that emphasized the differences and highlighted separate groups individually. The conservative leaders in the Bureau believed that the curriculum should be used to only emphasize commonalities among people in order to increase ethnic and racial harmony. As DuBois continued to stress the importance of her separate treatment of each group, the schism in the Bureau continued to grow.

The AJC threatened to withhold future funding if the Bureau did not shift from DuBois's pedagogical leadership of the Bureau. The conservative leadership in the Bureaus Board of Directors demoted DuBois and began a two year reevaluation process that eventually led to DuBois being asked to resign her position in the Bureau. DuBois lost control of the Bureau but she had begun a movement that was the beginning of an antiracist, multicultural educational paradigm. James Banks argued in numerous articles about the importance of DuBois to the multicultural

educational movement. The end of DuBois's leadership in the Bureau eventually allowed for her to move onto using her intercultural ideas into a community structure that aspired to bring groups together through larger community conversation.

Chapter 5

Intercultural Education to Group Conversation Method

DuBois was valiant in her fight to retain some control and influence in the Service Bureau. The Bureau that she started and spearheaded had finally been taken over and redirected by leaders with different ideas on ways to increase appreciation for a multicultural democracy. Her quest to affirm the humanity of all ethnic groups and races through a curriculum and pedagogical framework that placed the building of ethnic pride and white respect other ethnic groups, had been overrun by more conservative forces in the Bureau. DuBois had failed to hold the fractions of the Bureau together under her leadership and now looked to continue her life's work outside the Bureau. Her refusal to capitulate to pressure from the "melting pot" factions of the Bureau had cost her a spot at the table of leadership in the Service Bureau. DuBois moved on from the experience and began a different stage of her life: ending her marriage, focusing on her group conversation work, and advocating for the country to address its racial issues as the modern Civil Rights Movement began in the 1950s.[191] DuBois left Teachers College during this time after her advisor Dr. Kulp also left Teachers College. She finished her doctorate at New York University under the advisement of Dr. Frederick Thrasher. A report on her Woodbury work and the spreading of the program served as the thesis that finished her program of study.

DuBois was at a low point in life after being forced out of the Bureau and she began to look for a new avenue to make a difference. In the summer of 1941, she participated in a month long seminar led by Gerald Heard, a well know philosopher and spiritual leader. The seminars were being held at LaVerne College, a small college in Southern California. Heard's philosophy was " that the universe is one organic, evolving whole, held together by the power of "Love",

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[191] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941,* 263.

and that each of us is an integral part of it." DuBois points to the information she learned at seminars listening to Heard were sufficient to inspire her. The seminars were part cult-like in the reliance on the charismatic leader Heard, and part scientific in the creation of academic group settings.

In 1941, the United States was on the verge of entering another World War due to the growing menace of anti-Semitism sweeping across Europe and causing continued division and ethnic turmoil within the United States. The U.S. soon found itself in the throngs of war after the attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii in December 1941, and the U.S. was thrust into the fight. War has always had a social effect on nations, and WWII was no different than any war before it. As WWI brought an increase in anti-immigrant fervor and support for "Making the World Safe for Democracy," WWII had a different effect largely due to the ideology of the enemy. Adolph Hitler and Nazi Germany were primary causes of the war, Hitler preached an ideology of racial superiority as the basis for foundation of German claims to establishing an empire. World War II reshaped America's psyche and its relationship with the world. The struggle against Nazi tyranny and its theory of a master race discredited the same beliefs of ethnic and racial inequality that still plagued the United States.[192]

The populist pluralistic "melting pot" vision trumpeted by the AJC and the more conservative members of the Bureau had become the more popular perspective in the country. In order to set itself apart from WWII foes, the United States fully embraced the principles that Americans of all races, religions, and national origins could enjoy constitutional ensured freedoms equally. If the Nazis preached racism and Aryan supremacy, the United States had to find a way

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[192] Alan Brinkley, *Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*. 6th ed. Vol. 2. (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 2009), 241.

to separate itself from that philosophy even if it too was infected with its own deep racially oppressive ideology. The idea of Americanism in the era of WWII was a new vision resting on the toleration of diversity and equality for all. The hypocrisy of the principles of equality and freedom for all was coming to the forefront. These ideas of pluralism were instrumental in creating a different and vastly more positive tolerant climate for second-generation eastern and southern Europeans in the WWII era as compared to the WWI era.[193]

The war had a more ambiguous meaning for non-white groups than for whites. Black solders for example, quietly questioned what they were fight for and then demanded it when they returned home.[194] The reality of life for blacks and immigrants of color during the war was still clouded by the country's own stubbornness for change while it was preaching the evils of Nazism. Foreign policy concerns during the war had an effect on treatment of citizens or new immigrants with Italians, Germans, or Japanese heritage. The development of the Chinese as an ally in the war and its image as a defender against Japanese aggression, helped lead to the ending of the Chinese exclusionary law in 1943. Starting on the day after the Pearl Harbor attack, the United States began a system of relocating Japanese-Americans. The internment of the Japanese came to fruition because many government officials believed that they were a threat to the U.S. due to their feelings of loyalty with the Japanese Empire. The Japanese, more so than Germans and Italians, were placed in internment camps that put into question their patriotism and trustworthiness. For many, the internment of over 100,000 Japanese Americans remains one of the most sensitive

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[193] Brinkley, *Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*, 255.

[194] James Roark, Michael Johnson, Patricia Cohen, Sarah Stage, Alan Lawson, Susan Hartman. *The Ameri can Promise: A History of the United States*, 4th ed. Vol. 2. (New York: Beford/St. Martinson and Company, 2009), 964.

and unfortunate events in American history. It is an example of how ethnic heritage and citizenship in a multicultural society is filled with ethical and civil dividers that are not easily maneuverable in times of upheaval and change.[195]

The war spurred a spike in the continuing migration of the black population that started during the First World War. The movement of blacks into the North during WWII was much greater than that during the WWI. Almost 1 million blacks migrated North on "freedom trains," seeking employment during a time of growing need for workers as a result of the economic boom from the war. They faced violent hostility, job and housing discrimination, but they came in growing numbers seeking to challenge the status quo. The war proved to be the beginning of the modern Civil Rights Movement as the nation was going to be forced to reckon with its racist laws by a black population lead by returning black veterans.[196]

Blacks, along with other ethnic minorities, moved out of their ethnic neighborhoods and came together in the industrial plants. "Patriotic assimilation," as historian Eric Foner coined the term, was different from the forced Americanization of World War I. Franklin Delano Roosevelt promoted pluralism as the only source of harmony in the diverse society.[197] Government and private agencies promoted equality as the definition of Americanism as a counterpoint to Nazism. The leadership of the nation believed in the importance of trying to calm the divisiveness of nativism and ethnic divisions for the sake of peace at home.

The immigrant questions for southern and eastern Europeans was not the hot button issue in WWII that it was during WWI but the concerns on the issue of race continued and intensified.

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[195] Roark, Johnson, Cohen, Stage, Lawson, Hartman. *The American Promise: A History of the United States*, 976.
[196] Roark, Johnson, Cohen, Stage, Lawson, Hartman. *The American Promise: A History of the United States*, 834.
[197] Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History*, 356.

While the European immigrant of the early 20th century was seen as less of a threat, the red menace was feared from within the country. While the European was less vilified, the WWII and the post-war period saw an increase in inter-racial violence between whites and people of color. In 1943, an outbreak of race riots against blacks and Mexican immigrants became front page news.[198] The more conservative forces within the Service Bureau were not ready to address growing black militancy and its unwillingness to capitulate to a melting pot philosophy continued to leave the organization on the margins. Riots broke out in over 200 cities and the partially integrated army bases all over the country. The ongoing issues facing black Americans was that they were more suited for the progressive form of cross racial group conversation and the promotion of racial pride through increased education of black history.[199]

As increased contact in urban areas and ethnic enclaves brought conflict, Rachel Davis DuBois continued her work at creating interracial harmony through Group Conversation in order to foster a culture of respect. After DuBois resigned from the Service Bureau, she immediately formed a new organization called the Workshop for Cultural Democracy (WCD). The new organization was started with the assistance of some of her like-minded colleagues from the Bureau. The new organization planned to take the progressive teaching of positive ethnic history and values to students in the schools. Very quickly people in the new organization learned that the AJC and the melting pot theorists from the Bureau had blocked the spreading of their work.[200] In her biography, DuBois stated, "Two high school PTA leaders when contacted by Frank Trager at the AJC headquarters were told they did not agree with DuBois and the work of

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[198] Brinkley, *Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*, 681.
[199] Brinkley, *Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*, 681.
[200] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 270.

the new organization."[201] Attempts to spread her work in schools diminished, and DuBois never again did extensive work in schools. She began to work on a new technique she developed known as "Group Conversation." The Group Conversation method was a formula for easing tensions in schools, unions, housing projects, and other settings where people of diverse races, creeds, and nationalities met and interacted.[202]

Rachel Davis DuBois's Group Conversation methods has influence people throughout the nation and has been depicted in Hollywood movies. Recently when looking for a movie to rent and watch with my wife, I came across a movie titled "The Best of Enemies." The movie was based on an actual account on the issue of school integration in 1971 Durham, North Carolina. The movie depicted two main characters, one an activist black female named Ann Atwater and the local head of the KKK in Durham, C.P. Ellis. In an effort to ease community tensions brought on by a court-ordered school desegregation decree, the town's leadership called in an outside mediator to lead what they called a charrette. A charrette is a meeting in which stakeholders in a project attempt to resolve conflicts and map solutions.

Although school integration had been ruled the law of the land with the *Brown* decision of 1954, states and communities across the South held off on integration until they faced law suits for continuing to defy the court. The charrette, as depicted in the movie, brought together black and white residents to talk and discuss the issues facing their city on the eve of school integration. When watching this movie, I was reminded of the innovation and pioneering work done

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[201] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 89.
[202] DuBois, *Get Together Americans: Friendly Approaches to Racial and Cultural Conflicts through the Neighborhood-Home Festival*,(New York and London: Harpers and Brothers, 1943), 10.

by Rachel DuBois and her similar type of community Group Conversation work. From Intercultural Education in the schools to group conversation and community education, DuBois continued her life's work to inspire future generations.

DuBois's work in bringing people together and an explanation of that work is chronicled in her books *Get Together Americans* written and published in 1943 and *Neighbors in Action* written and published in 1950 and *The Art of the Conversation* published in 1963. DuBois used these books to echo the success of the Group Conversation techniques she used in cities and towns in different parts of the country. DuBois's writings, connections to controversial figures like Adamic, and her radical stances on issues concerning politics and race gave her respectability with the new Civil Rights Movement but raised her profile with the Un-American Activities Committee in the House of Representatives.

Group Discussions

In 1943, Rachel Davis DuBois published *Get Together Americans* which served as a partial record of her philosophy, and a practical manual for social interaction among Americans of various racial, national, and religious backgrounds. DuBois intended the book to address group leaders and aid them in intercultural group sessions and education. The book contained actual experiences in the Service Bureau's Neighborhood Home festivals and analysis of some of the problems between cultures.[203]

DuBois created the Neighborhood Home festival concept which helped to train community leaders, activists, and teachers in the training to provide practical educational experiences

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[203] Rachel Davis DuBois Papers, Immigration and History Research Center Collection, University of Minnesota, "*Personal Writings" 1917-1973,* Box 8, File 3, Subsequent references to the collection will be cited hereafter as Personal Writings.

that help develop social appreciative attitudes about other races and cultures.[204] The Neighborhood Home Festival, as DuBois explained, is what happens when a group of people, culturally as mixed as the community in which it meets, come together for relaxation. When those people converse, as a group, on universal themes related to a season, a significant event, or an idea, and so achieve realization and expression of their common humanity.[205]

DuBois refers to the nativist, and multi-generation Americans as old-stock Americans who are in dire need of Group Conversation and intergroup relations in order increase their emotional readiness to accept other cultures create harmonious communities. She also pointed out the importance of educating the new Americans because both sides of the cultural divide needed Group Conversation in order to bring down barriers. She described the Neighborhood-Home Festival as an art form, social interaction, and an aid to release tensions in the neighborhood. The Festival can also expose different themes that can be used by others to create intercultural groups in their own sphere. Holiday seasons and the differences in cultural celebrations were discussed with points that educate the reader on different customs and ways which bring understanding and enrich the whole neighborhood.[206]

DuBois's intention for writing the *Get Together Americans* was to spread of the new Group Conversation methods and helped create leaders throughout the country. By the mid 1940s Group Conversations were being held in PTAs, churches, synagogues, settlement houses, labor union halls, YMCAs, and YWCA, scouts, library and hospitals. In the book *Get Together Americans* (GTA) DuBois educates the reader on the appreciation of cultural differences of the

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[204] See Appendix F.
[205] Rachel Davis DuBois, "Personal Writings," Box 8, File 12.
[206] Rachel Davis DuBois, "Personal Writings," Box 8, File 12.

Italian, American Jew, blacks, old-stock Americans and American Indians. DuBois uses the book as a teaching tool, informational preparation, and analysis of the problems involved in understanding the psychology of inter-group relationships, and source materials on seasonal and patriotic festivals.

The Group Conversation method and neighborhood festival practices used the important element of emotional understanding to create a change in attitudes. Furthering the theories tested years before with the Woodbury Plan, DuBois worked with the continuing understanding that people do not act according to what they know, but according to how they feel about what they know. Group Conversation methods simply took her Woodbury Plan to the streets to change society at the community level.

Neighbors in Action

In the spring of 1945, Public School No. 165 in New York experienced the killing of two students due to what was called a race gang fight. The school had new influx of Puerto Rican and immigrant German refugees that reached up to 40 percent of the population. DuBois was contacted by the PTA and the school principal to bring in the Workshop for Democracy blueprint. The Workshop agreed to set up a short training to a group of mothers and three teachers on the use of the Group Conversation, centered on situational needs. DuBois chronicled this project in her book *Neighbors in Action* published in 1950.[207]

The book centered on the broadening of understanding of the Quaker, Italian, Jewish, Irish, African American, and Puerto Rican home and family life. DuBois pointed out an experience with Puerto Rican mothers in an informal meeting after 7th grade children had invited their

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[207] DuBois, "Personal Writings," Box 8, File 10.

parents to a party. The Puerto Rican mother discussed the feeling of being pushed around and feeling unwanted in the area. The meeting was fruitful in that the mothers shared a progressive Puerto Rican seasonal custom called a Parranda. A Parranda was described by one of the mothers, "Our whole family would visit another family, have fun and food, then that family would join us and to the next."[208]

The Parranda idea was used by the Workshop in the neighborhood and implemented as part of the school curriculum.[209] The Workshop conducted classroom festivals independently and incorporated discussions about Parrandas into classroom Group Conversation. The teachers or parents led group conversations with the students and the principal arranged that each teacher have the same free period once a week, just before noon. Teacher cross-referencing enabled the teachers to share with one another whatever activity units they were developing out of the Parranda experiences and to co-ordinate around these units other school activities such as assembly programs, field trips, and the extracurricular club activities.[210]

In part two of *Neighbors in Action*, DuBois stressed the importance of dealing with prejudice and civil rights in the community and noted that the aims had been accomplished in dealing with the tensions in the area. She admitted that success and increased good will through the curriculum is difficult to prove, but she used the words of a leader in the Parents Association to make her point. "As we walk on the streets, there is more friendliness. People of many groups stop and walk together. There are less tensions and a fewer number of overt incidents such as willful bad acts. When I realize how many different kinds of people live in these blocks, I am

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[208] DuBois Papers, "Personal Writings," Box 8, File 10.
[209] See Appendix G.
[210] DuBois Papers, "Personal Writings," Box 8, File 10.

amazed that we now get along so well."[211] The results part of the book, is of course subjective, but it is evidence of the positive feelings that were experienced by the teachers, parents, students and administrators involved in the project.

In the 1940's, there were progressive educators still working on the project of orienting social studies teaching around the problems of American society.[212] The racial problems that existed called for innovative means and the intercultural movement seemed perfectly suited to address those issues. Like the Workshop for Democracy, the National Council of Social Studies took unusual steps in the early 1940s preparing materials for teachers that would serve to help teachers in the effort to make Problems of Democracy and other problem-centered offerings more teachable.[213]

The Art of Group Conversation

In 1948 DuBois met Mew Soong Li when she volunteered for the PS 165 school project. Li was a social studies teacher from Hawaii, who had witnessed the great damage and despair cause by a great tidal wave. She registered for DuBois's class at Teachers College to pursue her doctorate. Li experienced a separate personal tragedy after moving to Great Britain to continue her doctoral work. She lost her husband due to the Civil War in China, because her husband went to visit his seriously ill mother and was trapped in war torn China and lost his life.[214]

Mew returned to New York and rejoined DuBois and they wrote a new manual called *The Art of Group Conversation*. The new pamphlet was different than the old group discussion that DuBois trumpeted in the 1930s and 40s. Group Conversation emphasized the importance of

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[211] DuBois Papers, "Personal Writings," Box 8, File 10.
[212] Ronald W. Evans. *The Social Studies Wars: What Should We Teach The Children*? (New York: Teachers College Press, 2004), 67.
[213] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 165.
[214] Dubois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 168.

making sure to start the group process with non-controversial conversation before transitioning into the discussion of conflict and tougher issues. The authors defined Group Conversation as a way of helping a roomful of people, even strangers of mixed backgrounds, feel something of the warmth and trust of longtime friends and neighbors.[215]

The "*Art of Group Conversation*" was written to deal with specific problems, such as black and white parents of a newly integrated school coming together to work out their differences. Instead of coming in and addressing the conflict head on, the group must ease into its mission by getting to know each other and accepting each as a citizen in a democratic society. The pamphlet was later published as a book after years and hundreds of Group Conversations were carried out by the Workshop for Cultural Democracy.

Conversation Method at Work

In a published report on the activities of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy (WCD) in 1948. The report outlined the whole neighborhood grass-roots initiative launched at the P.S 165 school in New York City. Situated at 109th street between Broadway and Amsterdam avenue, the school was in a typical "tension area". A neighborhood made up of 40% Puerto Rican, 20% Jewish, and large numbers of Irish Catholic, Black, Protestant, and other American groups. Workshop leaders, cooperation with teachers and parents, sponsored intercultural assemblies, classroom demonstrations, group conversations, and home visitations. Parranda's were then scheduled for children to take part in as the Parranda's had become the schools most popular extra-curricular activity.[216]

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[215] DuBois Papers, "Personal Writings," Box 8, File 15.
[216] DuBois Papers, "Group Conversation," Box 32, File 7.

Children impatiently awaited their turns to go in groups to visit the homes of Americans of different cultural types. Their reports back to their classrooms made every individual visit a school-wide experience. Face to face meetings between people of different racial, national, and religious backgrounds were the basic method of over-coming prejudice. The report stated that hundreds of group conversations had been carried out over the past 2 years (1947-1948), in churches, labor unions, schools, and private homes, with from 30 to 40 people present at each.[217] The Neighborhood home festivals included sponsoring organizations that represented progressive agendas in the community. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the New York club for the blind "The Lighthouse" were examples of supporting organizations.[218]

Over the two-year span, eighty leaders from twelve different neighborhoods have been trained in Workshop techniques in courses sponsored by the New School for Social Research. The New School was founded in 1919 by a group of progressive intellectuals looking for a new, more relevant model of education, one in which faculty and students would be free to honestly and directly address the problems facing societies. The New School was founded by Colombia University professors, including Charles Beard and John Dewey in 1919, when they took a public stance against U.S. entry into WWI.[219]Training included on-the-job demonstrations in various cities, such as Princeton, Coatesville, and Lancaster. Columbia University's Teachers College had graduated students do their field work under Workshop supervision. Each summer the WCD conducted a training on intergroup understanding at Drexel University.[220]

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[217] DuBois Papers, "Group Conversation," Box 32, File 7.
[218] DuBois Papers, "Group Conversation," Box 32, File 8.
[219] DuBois Papers, "Group Conversation," Box 32, File 8.
[220] DuBois Papers, "Group Conversation," Box 32, File 8.

A monthly newsletter was started for local leaders in many parts of the country to aid them in formulating and carrying out programs. Articles by DuBois and other members of the Workshop appeared in several national publications, including *Parents Magazine* and *Coronet*, and one was in preparation for the Women's home companion. The Workshop prepared a paper discussing the philosophy and methods of cultural democracy on an international basis and was broadcast in twenty-five countries. Correspondence was carried on with Workshop trained leaders in England and India, Norway, Germany, and Puerto Rico. There was even a clipping found in the archives from Gandhi's newspaper in India recommending the use of Workshop methods to convince members of different castes to work together.[221]

Barry Shandler, Assistant Director of the Young Men's Hebrew Association describes a personal experience as a participant in one of Rachel Davis DuBois's neighborhood festivals.

> *It happened as a local meeting of the American Association of Group Workers. Faith was rekindled and has been glowing ever since. Were you ever invited to a meeting for which you could find no time or maybe it was that you didn't want to find the time, and did you end up by going because a co-worker said that as a member of the group it was your duty to attend? If so, you can appreciate my receiving notice to attend an AAGW meeting at which the main them was cultural democracy. We went to the meeting, looked about us and saw individuals ranging in age from the early twenties through the seventies, mostly women, but with a fair sprinkling of men. There were people born in Europe, China, Japan, Latin America, and the United States, but they were Americans all and of many denominations and colors.*[222]

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[221] DuBois Papers, "Group Conversation," Box 32, File 8.
[222] DuBois Papers, "Group Conversation," Box 32, File 8

Rachel Davis DuBois was then introduced to the group and proceeded to request that all of the participants move their chairs closely together until they were melded into what Sandler called an interracial and international ellipse. She asked each individual to be their childhood selves as if they were eight to ten years old. Each individual was then asked to introduce themselves by name and state what part of the world he or she had lived since they were eight years of age. The learned that there were Polish, Dutch, Norwegian, Japanese, Brazilian, Puerto Rican and Americans from all over the U.S.[223]

For eight consecutive years, the Workshop held bi-weekly open house sessions for mixed groups of young people. They were attended each year by upward of 400 men and women from all over the United States and other countries. Programs included informal discussions, storytelling, games, dancing, and experience exchange. Reports from other cities of different open houses in other cities expressed the success and the improvements in cross-cultural understanding.

Using the conversation method today would require some innovation and leadership at the school board level. Schools and communities today are continually segregated due to continued white flight from suburbs to suburb and the growth of Christian private schools that raid many local schools of white pupils. Even though the Brown decision ended forced school segregation, de-facto segregation has become a major problem throughout the nation. In order to implement group conversations, school principals with different demographic make-ups will need plan bus trips in order to connect students to meet and talk in open discussion. Group discussions can help lead to generational change that can stop the continuation of white flight and continued angst of the increased inevitability of diversity in neighborhoods and schools.

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[223] DuBois Papers, "Group Conversation," Box 32, File 8

Conclusion

Upon her forced ouster from the Bureau, Rachel DuBois experienced a period of mourning and reevaluation. She had a spiritual awakening when following Gerald Heard. The new spiritual outlook reconnected her to her Quaker roots and fueled DuBois's reemergence as the leader of a new group she founded on the same premise as intercultural education. DuBois started the Workshop for Cultural Democracy with others who were followers of her within the Bureau.

The WCD ran Neighborhood festivals, major community projects, trained local leaders, published articles and spread the ideas of Group Conversation to others around the world. Rachel Davis DuBois traveled for the WCD and delivered papers on methods of Group Conversation and Intercultural Education at conferences and training seminars around the country.

DuBois continued to spread the virtues of the effectiveness that has come and can result from implementation of a comprehensive Group Conversation program in the community. The spreading of Group Conversations in communities around the country started with her ouster from the Bureau and continued to be the work of her life until her death.

Chapter 6

Dubois and Bureau Post WWII

Service Bureau for Intercultural Education after DuBois's departure

After the explosion in the number of race riots in cities across the country from Detroit to Los Angeles there was an increase of interest in intergroup relations programs. In 1944, the Bureau of Intercultural Education was under the leadership of Henry Giles and underwent an expansion. The Bureau entered in consultation relationships with the Detroit, Gary, and Philadelphia school systems. The Bureau went forward with an agenda that pushed for the racial integration of teaching staffs, the integration of student government and extracurricular clubs, the elimination of the undemocratic classroom, the development of critical thinking and lessons in propaganda analysis. With all these techniques, strong emphasis was placed on the notion of human sameness wrote a New York high school principal, "That Intercultural education will be most effective which leaves the students with the convictions and feelings that there are basic similarities in all peoples, that human beings are moved by the same fundamental forces, the same needs and wants, the same aspirations ……"[224] The Intergroup movement, still lead by the Bureau had decided that teaching students about the differences and positive contributions of each group had been a mistake and caused more harm. Dan Dobson, a leading expert in WWII intergroup relations said, "The stressing of our differences, has made us more in-group out-group conscious than before and has done more harm than good."[225]

Catholic elementary and secondary schools used formulated Intercultural Education programs in their schools throughout New York and Chicago. In 1945, IE programs were designed

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[224] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941,* 272.
[225] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941,* 272.

and released to the schools in the form of syllabi and activities. These programs were designed to develop appreciation and understanding between different racial, religious, and national groups. The syllabi were designed to offer teachers suggestions on procedures and techniques for implementing intercultural programs that could be correlated with the entire curriculum. With the aid of the intercultural workshop syllabi, teachers developed practices to promote intergroup understanding and goodwill. The programs outlined in the syllabi included all grade levels and were not planned as a separate course or activity but as an integrated part of already standardized studies, such as history, civics, and reading comprehension.[226]

The 1940's became the last decade in which the intercultural movement was widely accepted around the country as a part of the social studies and language arts curriculum. The turf battles over social studies curriculum would continue with attacks on social studies both from outside and within the academy. Although the term Intercultural Education remained in use for many years the term that became the term of preference was Intergroup Education. The major focus of the Bureau's program in the years after the war was in the area of black-white relations. The Intercultural Education Movement started to wane and eventually was replaced by a more empowering civil rights sensible multicultural movement that addressed a society willing to question white supremacy.[227] The final nail in the coffin of the IEM came in the 1950's and a society that was scared of being labeled Anti-American by the anti-Communist police.

McCarthy Hearings

Domestic politics and society was suffering from a wave of anti-Communist hysteria the weakened the Democratic Party and the liberal left. Individuals were being discredited or their

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[226] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 273.
[227] Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement 1924-1941*, 274.

ideas were being put in question by associating them with Communists. This post WWII Red Scare was somewhat similar to the Red Scare that occurred at the end of WWI, which of course occurred at the beginning of DuBois's teaching career. Things were coming full circle for Du-Bois, at the beginning of her career the first Red Scare cause her pain and damage to her reputation in the community as this second Red Scare will prove to be detrimental to the Workshop for Cultural Democracy and DuBois's ability to spread the Group Conversation method.

The post WWII era saw Republicans attack the New Deal as a plot of radicals now jumped on cold war events, such as the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe and the Communist triumph in China, to accuse Democrats of fostering internal subversion. Wisconsin Senator Joseph R. McCarthy started to level charges that Communists were within the country's borders. He recklessly accused many citizens and government workers of being communist subversives working to undermine the nation. The U.S. press corps covered McCarthy with fervor and he became famous as an anti-Communist crusader. The hysteria of the time pushed President Truman into establishing loyalty review boards throughout the government to investigate every federal employee. Congressional committees, such as the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) often pushed executive branch officials to go after suspicious employees even more avidly, and Congress conducted investigations of individuals and political organizations.[228]

The domestic cold war spread beyond the nation's capital. State and local governments investigated citizens, demanded loyalty oaths, fired individuals suspected of disloyalty, banned books from public libraries, and more.[229] Professors were dismissed from universities, public

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[228] James Roark, Michael Johnson, Patricia Cohen, Sarah Stage, Alan Lawson, Susan Hartman. *The Ameri can Promise: A History of the United States,*(New York: Beford/St. Martinson and Company),971

[229] Roark, Johnson, Cohen, Stage, Lawson, Hartman. *The American Promise: A History of the United States,* 972.

school teachers lost their jobs. Civil rights activist Jack O'Dell remembered, "Segregationists defended segregation by stating that they were not against equal rights for blacks, but they were against Communists. Their interpretation of Communist was anybody who supported the right of blacks to have civil rights."[230] McCarthy caused untold economic and psychological harm to individuals innocent of breaking the law. Just by being called to testify by Joseph McCarthy placed a cloud over the head of anyone receiving the subpoena.

DuBois received a subpoena from Senator McCarthy in June of 1953. She was called to appear before the Senate Subcommittee on Government Operations. While pondering why she was being called to address the committee, she thought about the refusing to appear. DuBois was worried about the affect testifying would have on the Workshop for Cultural Democracy. She met with young lawyers and they went over her past activities and discussed those she had worked with in the past. Her relationship with W.E.B. Du Bois, and Puerto Rican Independence leader Pedro Campos were both problematic. Rachel DuBois had a long history of working with union leaders and progressive organizations, the problem with McCarthy was that he and the Republicans in Congress did not see much differentiation between Progressives and Communist.[231]

DuBois was questioned about her connections to any Communists and Socialists. The committee's questioning of DuBois proved to be elementary and an utter waste of time. DuBois was treated well by the committee, considering what she had witnessed on television and they asked questions about her support for a violent Communist attempt to infiltrate the nation-state. The biggest harm from this experience came to her reputation, which was tarnished, and alt-

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[230] Roark, Johnson, Cohen, Stage, Lawson, Hartman. *The American Promise: A History of the United States*, 972.
[231] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 159.

hough she received an apology from Senator McCarthy for bringing her in front of the committee, the apology was not public so it was useless to easing the harm he had done. The hearings hurt DuBois professionally as some individuals and organizations began to cancel appointments and arrangements that she had previously prepared. In the fall after the McCarthy hearing, she worked out appointments for trainings in Rochester and Cleveland, one under church auspices, the other a women's club, but both did not materialize. She was never told the real reason but speculated that it was fear that kept others from coming close to her professionally.

Multicultural Education

The IEM moved away and Multicultural Education took its place as public education addressed the inequities of the society. William Van Til and Joseph Dixon published in a critique of Intercultural Education, they noted that the movement was an essential first step towards teaching Americans how to live in a diverse society and how to live up to the nations' democratic creed. Throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s the intercultural movement through DuBois's influence was instrumental in diversifying contributions to U.S. History books and contributed to ongoing discussion in education to attempt to address concerns of racial, religious, and cultural inequities in society.[232]

James Banks stated, "The important outcome of the Civil Rights Movement was that African Americans demanded that their histories, struggles, contributions and possibilities be reflected in textbooks and in the school curriculum."[233] In the years that followed, many other groups demanded their inclusive stories be included in school curriculum. As a result, ethnic

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[232] Anne-Lise Halvorsen & Jeffrey E. Mirel,"Intercultural education in Detroit, 1943-1954", *Paedagogica Historica* (2013): 49 (3), 361.

[233] James A. Banks, "The Construction and Historical Development of Multicultural Education," 1962-2012," *Theory Into Practice (*2013*)* 52: 75.

studies was the first bridge from intercultural studies to multicultural education. Again, the heroes and holiday use of history became the focal point of inclusive ethnic studies. This approach did not challenge the overall curriculum and continued to marginalize figures of resistance to subjugation. For example, Sacajawea became a major part of history curriculum in the 1970s but Geronimo, a major resistance leader to American Indian subjugation was excluded from most curriculums.[234]

Ethnic studies and Multiethnic Education focused on racial and ethnic groups, but before long gender, and class, broadened conceptions of inclusive progressive education. This broader conception of diversity and education became part of Multicultural Education. In his *Theory Into Practice* article Banks points out Christine Sleeter's argument that Multicultural Education should also include a social action component. Cultural difference theorists believe that schools must change in ways that will promote respect and reflect the rich cultural strengths of students from diverse groups and use teaching strategies that are consistent with their cultural characteristics. C.A.M. Banks and J.A. Banks called this approach to teaching, equity pedagogy. It is also know in literature as culturally relevant and culturally responsive teaching.[235]

Intercultural Education focused on creating a more inclusive culture but did not attack the white supremacy that marginalizes these racial, religious, and ethnic groups. Multicultural Education addressed the inadequacies of the intercultural movement with a progressive approach for transforming education. Multicultural Education critiques white supremacy and corrects color-

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[234] James A. Banks, "The Construction and Historical Development of Multicultural Education," 1962-2012," 76.

[235] James A. Banks, "The Construction and Historical Development of Multicultural Education," 1962-2012," 78.

blind and discriminatory curriculum. It is grounded in the ideas of social justice, critical pedagogy, racial and gender equality. Multicultural Education seeks to not only bring acceptance and lift self-esteem of marginalized groups but looks to empower students to change the society. Multicultural Education was embraced during the liberal movements of the 1960s and 1970s but has had a hard time permeating public curriculums in the largely conservative era of the 1980s to present. Some critiques of Multicultural Education say that it distorts the historical narrative and it is divisive. The fear of a historical narrative that challenges the long held macro narrative is dangerous in an increasingly exclusive society.[236]

This movement toward Multicultural Education is more closely aligned to the ideas and teachings that Rachel DuBois envisioned for Intercultural Education. As intergroup studies moved away from the issues of ethnic white population assimilation, the issue of black and white divisions took a front seat. The "melting pot" assimilationist teachings of the anti-DuBois faction of the Bureau did not address the special circumstances of the problem with racial prejudice and white supremacy.

Multicultural Education started off as a more pragmatic and aggressive approach to increase cross-cultural respect and equality across racial lines. Unfortunately, Multicultural Education like the Intercultural Education movement before it has taken a conservative route that has weakened its social justice initiative. Multicultural education has its roots in the Civil Rights movement. Like the Civil Rights Movement, Multicultural Education was supposed to challenge

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[236] James A. Banks, "The Construction and Historical Development of Multicultural Education," 1962-2012," 78.

the racial hierarchal system to facilitate the continued subjugation of people of color in the society.[237]

I have witnessed in my years of teaching a consistent curriculum based conservative or corporate multiculturalism. Peter McLaren coined the term conservative multiculturalism to describe a strategy for disavowing racism and prejudice without conceding any of the power or privilege the dominant class enjoys.[238] Conservative multiculturalism has a veneer of diversity without any commitment to social justice or structural change. It is a form of curriculum transformation that can include selected multicultural curriculum content that simultaneously distorts both the historical and social reality that people actually experienced. Even though students might see representations of various groups in their texts and school curriculum, how those people are represented may be conservative or marginalizing. A typical textbook strategy for accomplishing this is to place information about racially and ethnically subordinated peoples in a special features section while the main text, which carries the dominant discourse, remains uninterrupted and undisturbed by multicultural information.[239]

The multicultural movement was part of a new social studies movement that came out of the 1960's social reform era. The Multicultural Education that came out of the era was nothing more than a conservative multiculturalism that quickly morphed into a continuation of old curriculum standards. The Cold War had a major effect on Progressive Education in math, science, and social studies. There was a wave of projects that received funding from the NSF, USOE and

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[237] Gloria Lanson Billings. "New Direction in Multicultural Education: Complexities, Boundaries and Critical Race Theory, "Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education, 2, (2004): 58.
[238] Gloria Lanson Billings. "New Direction in Multicultural Education: Complexities, Boundaries and Critical Race Theory," 58.
[239] Gloria Lanson Billings. "New Direction in Multicultural Education: Complexities, Boundaries and Critical Race Theory," 59.

other private foundations during the mid to late 1960s. Newly funded projects used contemporary social problems as topics for study and became a source for the creation of rich and variable curriculum development that had never before been witnessed. The increase in federal involvement was perhaps the major change of the era, influencing many aspects of schooling and social studies curriculum.[240]

The 1980s saw the beginning of the conservative restoration in social studies. Led by political and economic forces outside of education, the educational reforms were centered on a back to basics curriculum movement. During the era of the New Social Studies, a significant number of students were being asked to question social structures. Now, instead of education for social criticism and independent thinking, it was education for socialization, social control, and creation of human capital. The era of education to change the world had given way to an education for those who will follow directions and not question the status quo.[241]

DuBois and Group Conversation Continued

Before starting her Group Conversation work that became the center of her remaining life's work she had a personal religious awakening. The seminars she attended with Heard and her experiences setting up group conversations at the American Baptists convention led her to tap into her Quaker religious background and find new insight into the power of religion to bring people together. In 1958, DuBois and her colleague, Mew Li, trained some of the national and

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[240] Gloria Lanson Billings, "New Direction in Multicultural Education: Complexities, Boundaries and Critical Race Theory," 59.

[241] Gloria Lanson Billings, "New Direction in Multicultural Education: Complexities, Boundaries and Critical Race Theory," 59.

region leaders of the American Baptists in Group Conversation who then would train other Baptists in other states. The experience of working with the Baptists, inspired DuBois to use the same method with other Quakers across the country.[242]

During this time DuBois was transitioning from leadership to becoming more active in the spreading the Group Conversation Method. She began to travel and relinquish day to day running of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy to her younger colleagues. Starting in 1959, DuBois went on a tour of the country visiting Quaker groups, using the Group Conversation Method to address different groups in small meetings of twenty or less people. She used the "Quaker Dialogue" as an adaptation of group conversation for a group of no more than 20 participants of mixed ages.[243]

The Quaker dialogue meetings throughout the country addressed different issues and differences in the group dynamic. Between 1959 and 1961, DuBois held groups that address Rural versus City Friends, Scientific versus Nonscientific friends, Young versus Older friends, Canadian versus United States friends. In all of these meetings DuBois was not only organizer of the groups but a participant who was learning and continuing to question the relevance of the group conversation in these different settings. The meetings had participants ask questions of each other, while answering questions that forced all to share their inner most feelings and childhood memories. The Workshop for Democracy constantly took information from these dialogues and attempted to find deeper psychological and societal understanding of participants in an effort to improve group conversation enhancing techniques.[244]

DuBois and The Civil Rights Movement

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[242] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 137.
[243] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 130.
[244] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 130.

Throughout the 1950s, DuBois was aware of the Civil Rights Movement and the events happening in the South but she had not taken part in any meaningful way. She had been a strong supporter and advocate of equal rights and cultural equality through her work with Intercultural Education. Her work with and relationship with W.E.B. Du Bois and other activists in the black American struggle for rights went back to the 1920s and gave her instant credibility with black activists. After the march on Washington in 1963, the Civil Rights Movement, Rachel DuBois began a working relationship with Dr. Martin Luther King and the movement until his assassination.[245]

The March on Washington was the result of the hard work of labor leader A. Philip Randolph, with the assistance of other black organizations: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Urban League, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and leaders from other religious groups. The modern movement began with the Supreme Court decision that overturn the *Plessy* decision of 1896. In 1954, the *Brown vs. Board* decision overturned the legal precedent of separate but equal. Years of legal work supported by the NAACP and the work of Thurgood Marshall had won a case that changed the course of history.[246]

In the nine years after the *Brown* decision, the nation witnessed local and regional battles to integrate local schools and public facilities. Throughout the old slavocracy South, blacks continued to fight voter suppression and state interference with the constitutional rights of blacks. Martin Luther King Jr. came on the national scene during the 1957 Montgomery bus boycott.

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[245] DuBois Papers, "Race Relations," Box 33, File 11.
[246] Roark, Johnson, Cohen, Stage, Lawson, Hartman, *The American Promise: A History of the United States,* 1003.

King was a minister and community leader in Montgomery, Alabama and took the lead in organizing a boycott of the cities buses over the continued practice of forcing blacks to give up seats to whites and forced seating in the back of the bus. King was a spokesman for the boycott and gain notoriety for his leadership and great oratory skills.

King continued his work through his leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The SCLC was a civil rights group led by a group of Christian preachers who organized non-violent forms of protest. He continued to lead protest and marches between 1957 and 1963. He and other went to jail numerous times for civil disobedient actions in protest of unjust laws and local practices. His actions were recognized by President Kennedy and gained worldwide notoriety that won him the Nobel Peace Prize of 1963. The March on Washington gave King his signature moment and thrust him into the U.S. historical relevance formally reserved for presidents and other esteemed political leaders.[247]

King gave his famous "I have a dream" speech as part of a list of dignitaries and civil rights leaders who spoke on the steps of the Lincoln memorial that day in Washington D.C. August 28, 1963. King gave a speech that used parts of sermons he had gave numerous times to his congregation. He spoke of a dream that all men and women will be judged by the content of their character and not by the color of their skin. The speech was wake-up call to the U.S. that the time had come to make the words written in the Declaration of Independence become a reality. The dream speech took its place beside historic and iconic speeches, comparable to Washington's Farewell Address, Lincoln's Gettysburg's Address, and Roosevelt's Pearl Harbor speech. [248]

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[247] Roark, Johnson, Cohen, Stage, Lawson, Hartman. *The American Promise: A History of the United States*, 1003.

[248] Roark, Johnson, Cohen, Stage, Lawson, Hartman, *The American Promise: A History of the United States*, 1004.

The 1960s was a decade of readjustment and awakening for the U.S. as it was dealing with large civil unrest over its white supremacist policies that subjugated blacks, women and other cultural groups and minorities. The Vietnam War became a divisive factor that further complicated divisions. The United States was primed and in need of dialogue and conversation as the different factions were forming in the country and within different movements. Pro war advocates versus anti-war activist, female conservatives versus new feminist, and the Civil Rights Movement was even divided between followers of King and more radical separatist like Malcolm X, who did not believe white America would ever give blacks their equal rights.

Rachel DuBois's was reenergized by the 1963 March on Washington and became recommitted and rededicated to the race problem. She believed the race problem was the one major issue related to equal opportunities in jobs, quality education, housing, etc. She felt her abilities, experience, and interests lay in helping to produce honest, ongoing communication based on mutual trust among individuals of all ethnic and other subgroups so that they could work more effectively together in their own communities.[249]

In the fall of 1963, DuBois asked the Quaker friends General Conference to see if its Peace and Social Order Committee would sponsor her working directly on race relations. Letters offering DuBois's services were sent to several southern cities to have DuBois come and give a two-week demonstration of the Group Conversation Method. The services were sold as an effective training tool for local leaders to use it for reconciliation between races in their own communities. She went on to work in West Chester Pennsylvania; Baltimore, Maryland; Atlanta and Augusta, Georgia; and New Orleans, Louisiana.[250]

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[249] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 212.
[250] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 212.

In each city DuBois took the Group Conversation training and applied it to connect people from different parts of the community and discuss community issues and race relations. The groups talked about how they could help in race relations in such organizations like PTA's, YWCA, NAACP, as well as various churches. In each city the questions and issues discussed in each group conversation was adapted to the needs of each community designed to bring together peoples of different races. In August the racial tensions were so intense it was impossible for local friends to publicize a training workshop. The segregated YWCA asked DuBois to come and speak at their first integrated meeting. The white members of the board were afraid that violence would break out and asked that the police be present. The black and white members of the board then met at a Quaker friend of DuBois and sat across the table from each other. DuBois was asked to move the gathering toward a Group Conversation. She led the group into a conversation about food and their early memories of family gatherings and food. She was using the usual Group Conversation Method that emphasized feelings of joy and unity so that the participants could see what they had in common. The work led to positive outcomes that saw the fruition of an integrated kindergarten by group of women that summer.[251]

In New Orleans, Catholics arranged for blacks and whites to visit in each other's home to begin to talk honestly with each other. The Group Conversation Method was used to help the group move into a discussion on race relations and DuBois said that after the meetings, "I noticed that our black hostess was crying when we ended the evening arm in arm, singing 'We shall Overcome'." One of the white men from Jackson stated, "Even though conditions in Jackson are bad, I think that we can get a few Negroes and whites to attend small meetings like this."[252]

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[251] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 214.
[252] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education,* 215.

In December of 1964, DuBois and Mew Li were invited by Martin Luther King to join the SCLC staff for a period of six months. He requested that they join the organization and use the Group Conversation Method in a broad program of reconciliation. The program of reconciliation established within the organization was named 'Operation Dialogue.'[253] King was told by his trusted advisor Bayard Rustin, that the Group Conversation Method which he had experienced in workshops with DuBois that help develop mutual understanding and acceptance among people of diverse groups.[254]

DuBois then arranged a seminar in New York with SCLC leaders minus Dr. King, with other leaders in the fields of social psychology, cultural anthropology, human relations, and religion. Coming out of this meeting DuBois and Mew Li were able to formulate a plan for creating a Group Conversation dialogue program. There were four important points of that came from the first meeting: Break the tendency to polarize Americans into racial groups; Cut through fears by starting with that which is neutral to the participants and about which they are concerned; Lead groups to see they cannot close their eyes to injustice, help them to see that tension is a part of life, therefore people need to confront and use it creatively, rather than fear it; It will be necessary to sustain groups after they start and to evolve effective follow up in leadership and materials. DuBois and Li went to Atlanta from New York and began to work on a plan to spread the Group Conversation Method in various cities in the SCLC network of offices.[255]

DuBois and Li continued to work in the SCLC long past the 6 months requested in the initial letter from Dr. King in December of 1964. DuBois continued to nurture the Group Conversation Method through their leadership of the dialogue program. In ten cities throughout the

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[253] See Appendix H
[254] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 216.
[255] DuBois and Okorodudu, *All This and Something More: Pioneering in Intercultural Education*, 216.

South, Midwest, and East, (Atlanta, Birmingham, Louisville, Nashville, Richmond, Waterville, Columbia, Bayville, Selma, Huntsville and Washington D.C)[256] the dialogue program focused on bringing groups together across racial and religious lines to help limit racial strife and create environments within and outside the SCLC that furthered the cause.

DuBois's work with King lasted longer than the six months initial agreement but ended prematurely due to the financial difficulties of the SCLC. Because of this, DuBois resigned from the SCLC in 1966 but continued to work in the ten cities under the auspice of the New York Friends Center Dialogue Department. DuBois and her partner in Mrs. Mew-Soong Li, worked with leaders of the Atlanta Dialogue Center to train southern rural blacks in Group Conversation.[257] DuBois continued to collaborate with the SCLC and the Dialogue Center up until and after the assassination of Dr. King.[258]

DuBois's Later Years and Legacy

DuBois continued to work on projects until her death in 1993 at the age of 101. After the work with the SCLC she went on to work at Earlham College in Indiana, training college and community leaders in group methods for developing mutual acceptance among the races. While at Earlham, with the help of community leaders in Richmond, a Center for Ethnic Awareness was established. She eventually moved back to Southern New Jersey in 1977, adapting the Group Conversation Method to the "Living Room Gathering." Sponsored by the New Jersey Committee for Humanities, this work foster the development of intercultural understanding in the local communities around the New Jersey.

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[256] DuBois Papers, "Race Relations," Box 33, File 11.
[257] See Appendix I
[258] See Appendix J

DuBois's Woodbury curriculum project grew out of her vision and an educational need she saw to effect progressive change in American culture in the 1920s through the 1950s. The Woodbury Project was effective in educating many citizens about each other's culture and promoting, not just tolerance, but a level of mutual respect across cultures. The work of DuBois and the SBIE in the 1930s and 1940s revealed great promise; such programs might be helpful in today's divisive political environment. The tools of the internet, social media, and instant communication over long distances can expand the classroom. The Intercultural Education curriculum can be very useful in a society where attacks on white supremacy, without creating cross cultural understanding and communication, opens the door to greater resistance. DuBois used the Neighborhood Group and Conversation Method to educate both the young and old, black and white, immigrant and native. Intercultural Education could be a useful tool in addressing the current racial divide and increased nativism. Although Intercultural Education has its shortcomings and does not address the hegemony of white supremacy, it can be a valuable tool in educating young people to respect all cultures.

The work of the Intercultural Education Movement was effective in helping many teachers understand inherent biases in society. The ability to see these biases and challenge prevailing discriminatory practices is the first step to becoming an effective teacher and advocate for the creation of a society that is aware of its prejudices in order to work toward social justice. The framework Rachel Davis DuBois created was considered overtly radical during her lifetime. What would DuBois think about the some of the comments made today by political leaders who question the worthiness of some immigrants compared to others? Is the education community to blame for the ignorance on the issue of intercultural awareness? Almost one hundred years after DuBois began her crusade to educate the public to respect each culture equally, the world is in

need of a new IEM to deal with a new set of immigrants. The new immigrants are from Asia, Africa, South and Central America, and the Middle East.

DuBois combined Dewey's ideas of experience with a technique of group discussion and discourse in an attempt to bring about real change and promote increased democracy. DuBois's Woodbury Project is dependent on class discussion and feedback. In *Controversy in the Classroom,* Diana Hess states that "to many democratic theorists and practitioners, discussion is a proxy for democracy itself."[259] Discussions in democratic societies, especially if characterized by inclusion and widespread participation, are markers of what Robert Dahl called "intrinsic equality," the fundamental assumption that the good of every human being is intrinsically equal to that of any other.[260]

Around the world, some people view immigration as controversial and threatening. While there are multiple causes of anti-immigration sentiment, people in many nations have witnessed an increase in the aggressive rhetoric of jingoism and nativism.[261] Factors that have contributed to heightening the controversy over immigration issues include, civil wars that have displaced large numbers of people, rising authoritarianism in certain countries, and terrorism from extremist Muslim groups and anti-Muslim groups who have exhibited violence around the world.[262] Educators are in need of a curriculum movement that teaches students the facts about different ethnic groups and attacks the falsehoods that reinforce fear and ignorance.

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[259] Diana Hess, *Controversy in The Classroom: The Democratic Power of Discussion*, (New York Routledge, 2009), 15

[260] R.A. Dahl, *On Democracy*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 68.

[261] Reuters, "How Republicans Are Using Immigration to Scare Voters to the Polls"; Goldstein, "There Is Still so Much Evil': Growing Anti-Semitism Stuns American Jews."

[262] Mashal and Bastians, "Sri Lanka Declares State of Emergency after Mob Attack on Muslims"; *New York Times,* (2018).

The argument for the democratic power of discussion in and outside the classroom that Hess and Dahl advocate, are much the same today as when Rachel Davis DuBois promoted Intercultural Education. The curriculum she taught teachers, students, parents, and community members encouraged a greater democratic society and ushered in the Intercultural Education Movement. Rachel Davis DuBois eventually worked with Martin Luther King, Jr. as the leader of a group dialogue initiative inspired by her work. Group discussion has proven effective in the past in bridging ignorance and can be invaluable today to bridge the divide between race and religious differences. DuBois's methods can help people realize that all cultures matter, but people must talk to one another and break down the walls that separate people.

Prologue: Democracy Demands Renewed Emphasis on Intergroup Relations

Rachel Davis DuBois ideas on Intercultural Education and the Group Conversation method were designed to increase respect and equality between American ethnic group and races. DuBois was influence by cultural pluralist Louis Adamic and his explanation that America should celebrate its ethnic and racial diversity. The nation DuBois encountered when she began her teaching career was openly anti-black and hostile to new ethnic groups immigrating to the U.S. Today, Americans are similarly as susceptible to the dangers of intergroup conflicts as they were 100 years ago. Developing human relations in a thriving democracy requires an educational system that respects the nations cultural, political and historical underpinnings while looking forward with a clear and fact based understanding of the changes that have shaped its growth.

Only in a nation that is void of good Intercultural Education and open intergroup conversation can political forces use false information and propaganda to gain power. We are a nation much like but at the same time much different from the one Louis Adamic wrote about in the early and mid-1900. The Civil Rights Movement and the growth of non-European populations

has created a new immigrant dynamic that is easy to exploit as the white majority is being told that their majority status is under attack. The terrorist attacks that have occurred since the turn of the 21st century have added to an already Islamic phobia problem. Pictures of a horde of brown migrants marching to the southern border without a full context of the issue and the real numbers add to the fear.

Anti-blackness and fear of a growing minority population are also an underlining problem that effects the nation addressing environmental issues, economic inequality. Our nation's politics is continuously high jacked by rhetoric that takes the nation away from dealing with global warming because our allegiances to group politics that mirror our racial group thinking. Increased intercultural and intergroup relations through controlled conversation and training is still needed today as ever before and maybe more.

At this time the United States is led by a president who has embraced the idea of the alternative facts, and the belief that might makes right. The U.S. presidential election of 2016 was a referendum on the countries fear of becoming an increasingly diverse nation. President Trump biggest issue was the fear of the growing numbers of people coming from Mexico. He called them a number of names and used the word rapist in a famous speech in front of a conservative audience. I believe the populous must question if continued conservative multiculturalism and the continuation of a basic Economics, World History, U.S. History standard based social studies curriculum can reverse the effectiveness of fear based, alternate facts politics.

I believe that a curriculum similar to the kind DuBois developed needs to be attempted to address the anti-immigrant, anti-black, and anti-Semitic attitudes poisoning American public discourse. Intercultural Education assemblies between schools with different demographic

makeups, including inter-group conversation in the schools and the community will take little additional funding. A pragmatic education leadership at the state level is need to consider transforming the long standing basic social studies curriculum to teach ant understanding of American diversity, foundations of racial animus, ethnic education, and an appreciation of individual differences.

Rachel Davis DuBois is an inspiration for what can be accomplished by individual determination with the help of like-minded advocates and workers who want to make a difference. Intercultural and Group Conversation movements are both relevant projects that can adequately address issues that DuBois and the progressive educational community were combating throughout the twentieth century.

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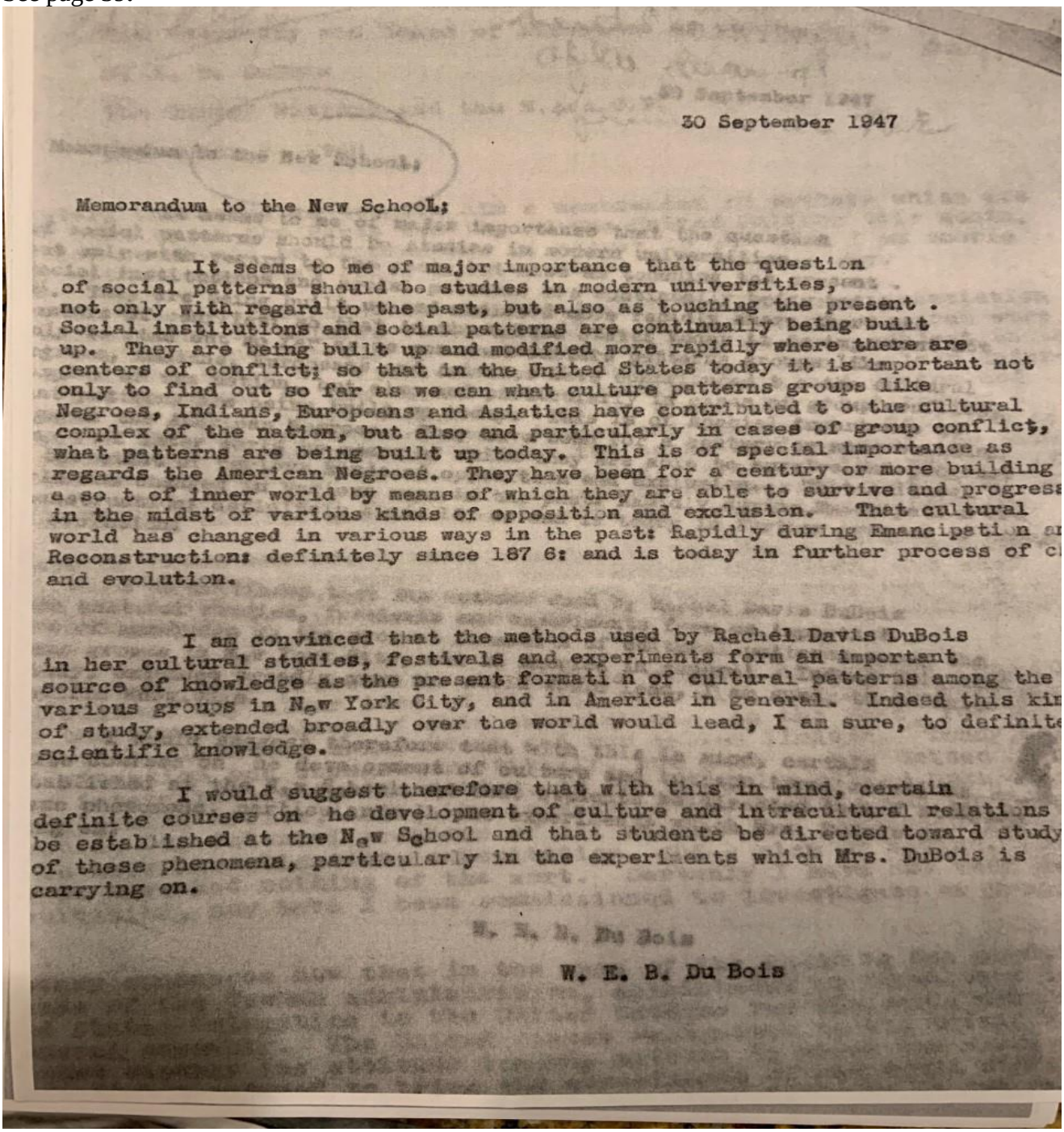
APPENDICES

Appendix A

Letter from W.E.B Du Bois to the New School in support of Rachel Dubois methods
See page 39.



30 September 1947

Memorandum to the New School:

It seems to me of major importance that the question of social patterns should be studies in modern universities, not only with regard to the past, but also as touching the present. Social institutions and social patterns are continually being built up. They are being built up and modified more rapidly where there are centers of conflict; so that in the United States today it is important not only to find out so far as we can what culture patterns groups like Negroes, Indians, Europeans and Asiatics have contributed to the cultural complex of the nation, but also and particularly in cases of group conflict, what patterns are being built up today. This is of special importance as regards the American Negroes. They have been for a century or more building a sort of inner world by means of which they are able to survive and progress in the midst of various kinds of opposition and exclusion. That cultural world has changed in various ways in the past: Rapidly during Emancipation and Reconstruction: definitely since 1876: and is today in further process of change and evolution.

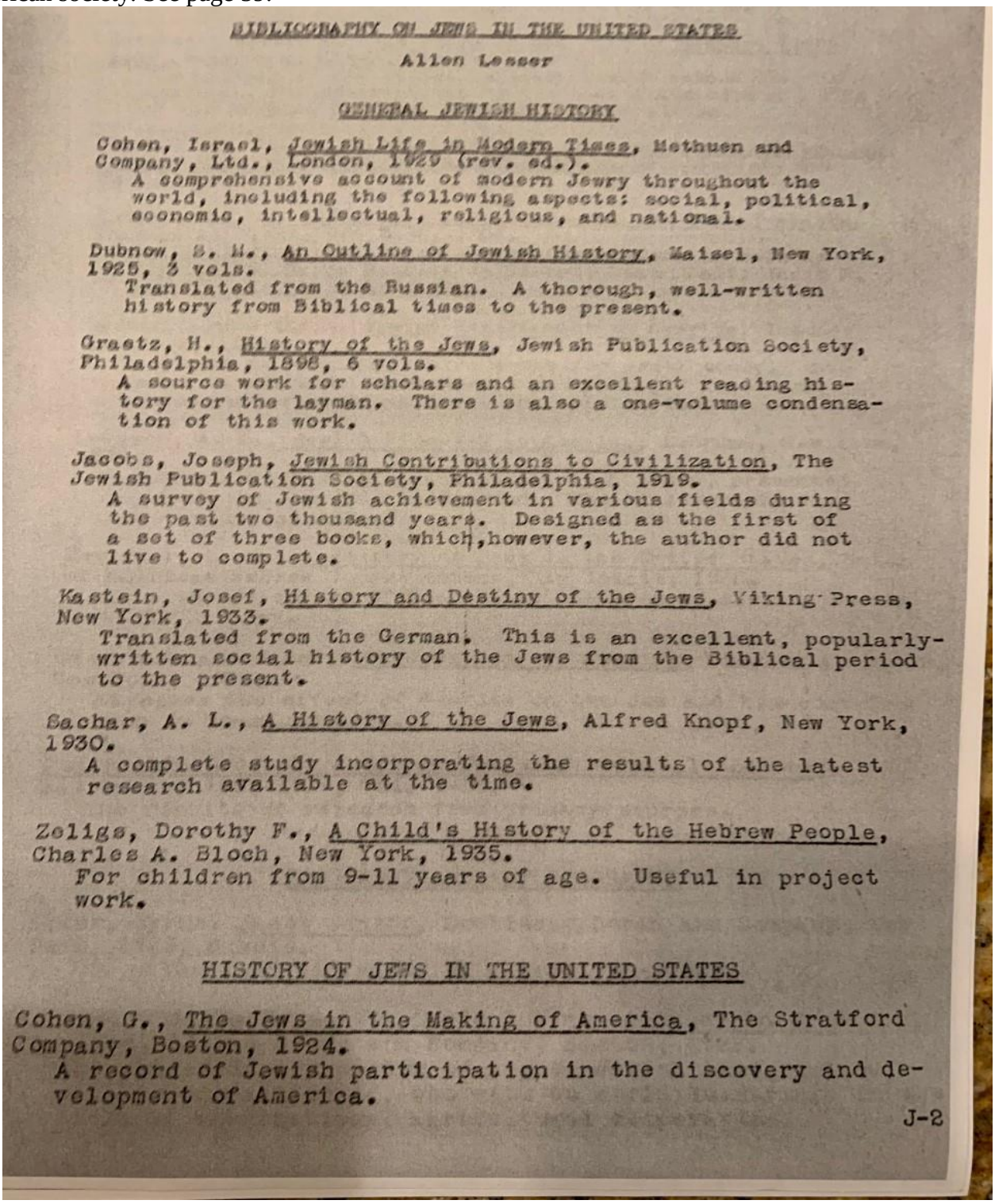
I am convinced that the methods used by Rachel Davis DuBois in her cultural studies, festivals and experiments form an important source of knowledge as the present formation of cultural patterns among the various groups in New York City, and in America in general. Indeed this kind of study, extended broadly over the world would lead, I am sure, to definite scientific knowledge.

I would suggest therefore that with this in mind, certain definite courses on the development of culture and intracultural relations be established at the New School and that students be directed toward study of these phenomena, particularly in the experiments which Mrs. DuBois is carrying on.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Appendix B

Classroom materials focused on scientific and other contributions made by Jewish people in American society. See page 59.



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Allen Lesser

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A comprehensive account of modern Jewry throughout the world, including the following aspects: social, political, economic, intellectual, religious, and national.

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Translated from the Russian. A thorough, well-written history from Biblical times to the present.

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A source work for scholars and an excellent reading history for the layman. There is also a one-volume condensation of this work.

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A survey of Jewish achievement in various fields during the past two thousand years. Designed as the first of a set of three books, which, however, the author did not live to complete.

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Translated from the German. This is an excellent, popularly-written social history of the Jews from the Biblical period to the present.

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HISTORY OF JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES

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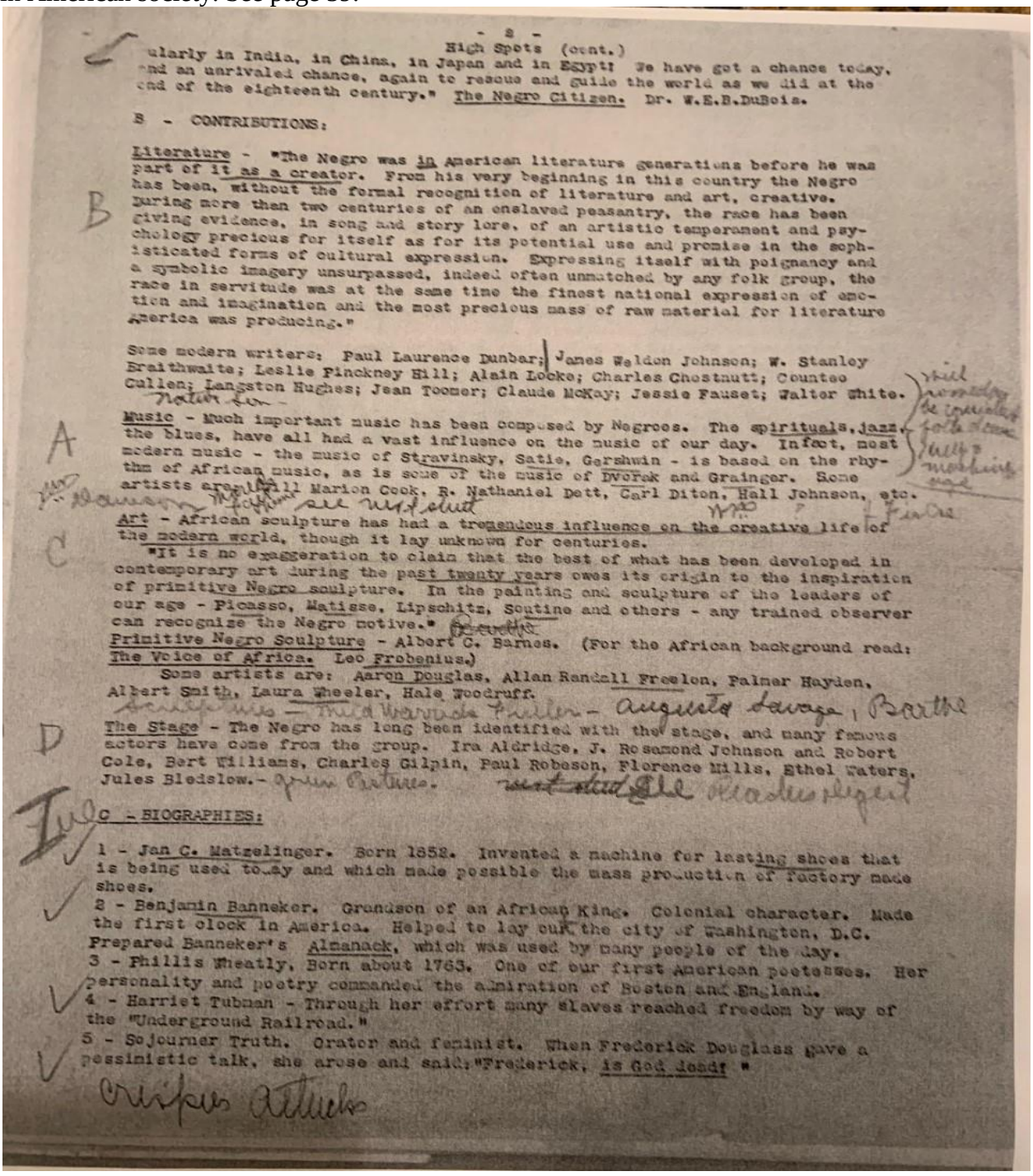
J-2

Appendix C

Classroom materials focused on scientific and other contributions made by Black (Negro) people in American society. See page 59.



- 8 -

High Spots (cont.)

ularly in India, in China, in Japan and in Egypt! We have got a chance today, and an unrivaled chance, again to rescue and guide the world as we did at the end of the eighteenth century." The Negro Citizen. Dr. W.E.B.DuBois.

B - CONTRIBUTIONS:

Literature - "The Negro was in American literature generations before he was part of it as a creator. From his very beginning in this country the Negro has been, without the formal recognition of literature and art, creative. During more than two centuries of an enslaved peasantry, the race has been giving evidence, in song and story lore, of an artistic temperament and psychology precious for itself as for its potential use and promise in the sophisticated forms of cultural expression. Expressing itself with poignancy and a symbolic imagery unsurpassed, indeed often unmatched by any folk group, the race in servitude was at the same time the finest national expression of emotion and imagination and the most precious mass of raw material for literature America was producing."

Some modern writers: Paul Laurence Dunbar; James Weldon Johnson; W. Stanley Braithwaite; Leslie Pinckney Hill; Alain Locke; Charles Chestnutt; Countee Cullen; Langston Hughes; Jean Toomer; Claude McKay; Jessie Fauset; Walter White.

Music - Much important music has been composed by Negroes. The spirituals, jazz, the blues, have all had a vast influence on the music of our day. Infact, most modern music - the music of Stravinsky, Satie, Gershwin - is based on the rhythm of African music, as is some of the music of Dvorak and Grainger. Some artists are: Will Marion Cook, R. Nathaniel Dett, Carl Diton, Hall Johnson, etc.

Art - African sculpture has had a tremendous influence on the creative life of the modern world, though it lay unknown for centuries.

"It is no exaggeration to claim that the best of what has been developed in contemporary art during the past twenty years owes its origin to the inspiration of primitive Negro sculpture. In the painting and sculpture of the leaders of our age - Picasso, Matisse, Lipschitz, Soutine and others - any trained observer can recognize the Negro motive."

Primitive Negro Sculpture - Albert C. Barnes. (For the African background read: The Voice of Africa. Leo Frobenius.)

Some artists are: Aaron Douglas, Allan Randall Freelon, Palmer Hayden, Albert Smith, Laura Wheeler, Hale Woodruff.

The Stage - The Negro has long been identified with the stage, and many famous actors have come from the group. Ira Aldridge, J. Rosamond Johnson and Robert Cole, Bert Williams, Charles Gilpin, Paul Robeson, Florence Mills, Ethel Waters, Jules Bledsloe.

C - BIOGRAPHIES:

1 - Jan C. Matzelinger. Born 1852. Invented a machine for lasting shoes that is being used today and which made possible the mass production of factory made shoes.

2 - Benjamin Banneker. Grandson of an African King. Colonial character. Made the first clock in America. Helped to lay out the city of Washington, D.C. Prepared Banneker's Almanack, which was used by many people of the day.

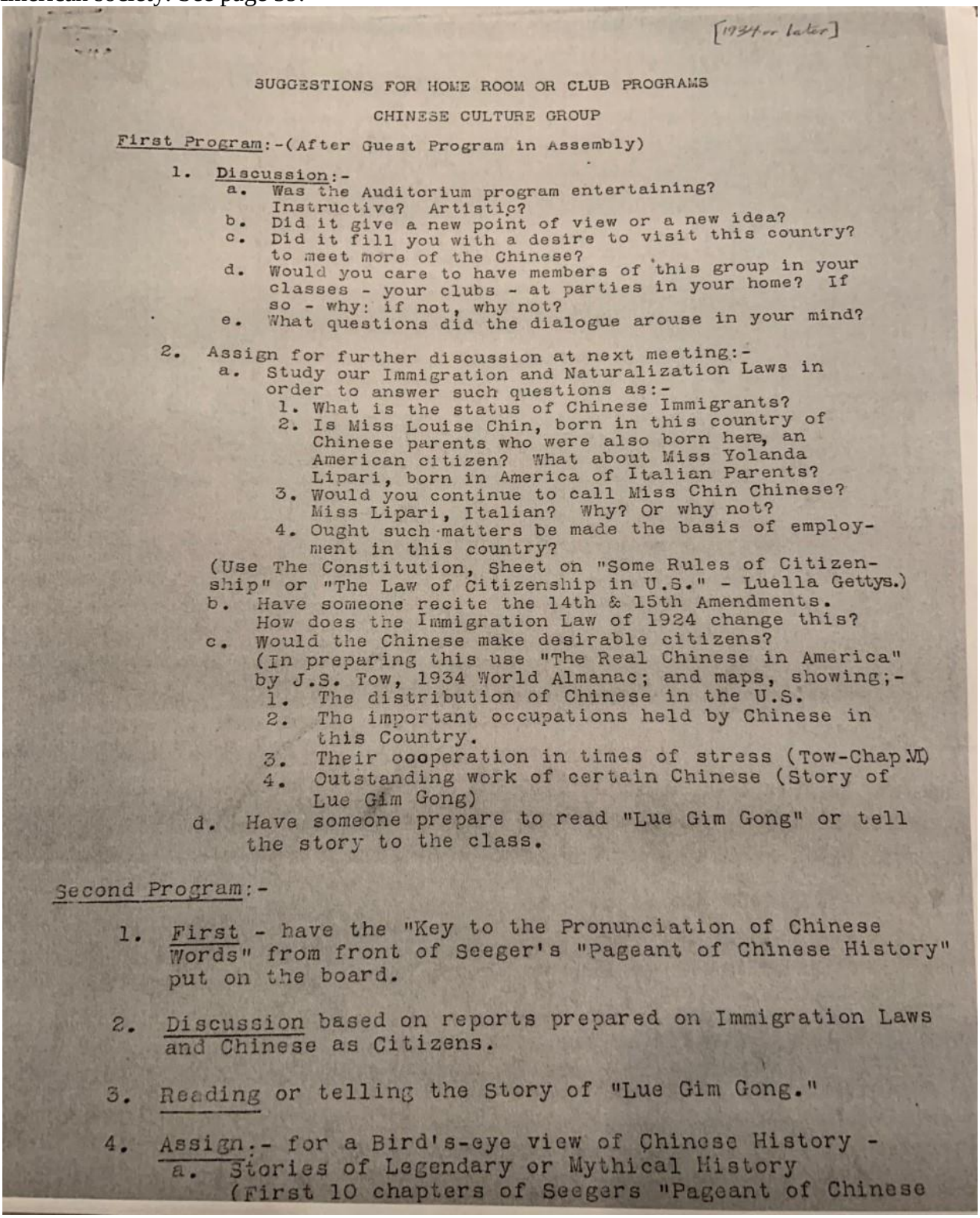
3 - Phillis Wheatly. Born about 1763. One of our first American poetesses. Her personality and poetry commanded the admiration of Boston and England.

4 - Harriet Tubman - Through her effort many slaves reached freedom by way of the "Underground Railroad."

5 - Sojourner Truth. Orator and feminist. When Frederick Douglass gave a pessimistic talk, she arose and said: "Frederick, is God dead?"

Appendix D

Classroom materials focused on scientific and other contributions made by Chinese people in American society. See page 59.



[1934 or later]

SUGGESTIONS FOR HOME ROOM OR CLUB PROGRAMS

CHINESE CULTURE GROUP

First Program:-(After Guest Program in Assembly)

1. Discussion:-
   a. Was the Auditorium program entertaining? Instructive? Artistic?
   b. Did it give a new point of view or a new idea?
   c. Did it fill you with a desire to visit this country? to meet more of the Chinese?
   d. Would you care to have members of this group in your classes - your clubs - at parties in your home? If so - why: if not, why not?
   e. What questions did the dialogue arouse in your mind?

2. Assign for further discussion at next meeting:-
   a. Study our Immigration and Naturalization Laws in order to answer such questions as:-
      1. What is the status of Chinese Immigrants?
      2. Is Miss Louise Chin, born in this country of Chinese parents who were also born here, an American citizen? What about Miss Yolanda Lipari, born in America of Italian Parents?
      3. Would you continue to call Miss Chin Chinese? Miss Lipari, Italian? Why? Or why not?
      4. Ought such matters be made the basis of employment in this country?

   (Use The Constitution, Sheet on "Some Rules of Citizenship" or "The Law of Citizenship in U.S." - Luella Gettys.)

   b. Have someone recite the 14th & 15th Amendments. How does the Immigration Law of 1924 change this?
   c. Would the Chinese make desirable citizens? (In preparing this use "The Real Chinese in America" by J.S. Tow, 1934 World Almanac; and maps, showing;-
      1. The distribution of Chinese in the U.S.
      2. The important occupations held by Chinese in this Country.
      3. Their cooperation in times of stress (Tow-Chap M)
      4. Outstanding work of certain Chinese (Story of Lue Gim Gong)
   d. Have someone prepare to read "Lue Gim Gong" or tell the story to the class.

Second Program:-

1. First - have the "Key to the Pronunciation of Chinese Words" from front of Seeger's "Pageant of Chinese History" put on the board.

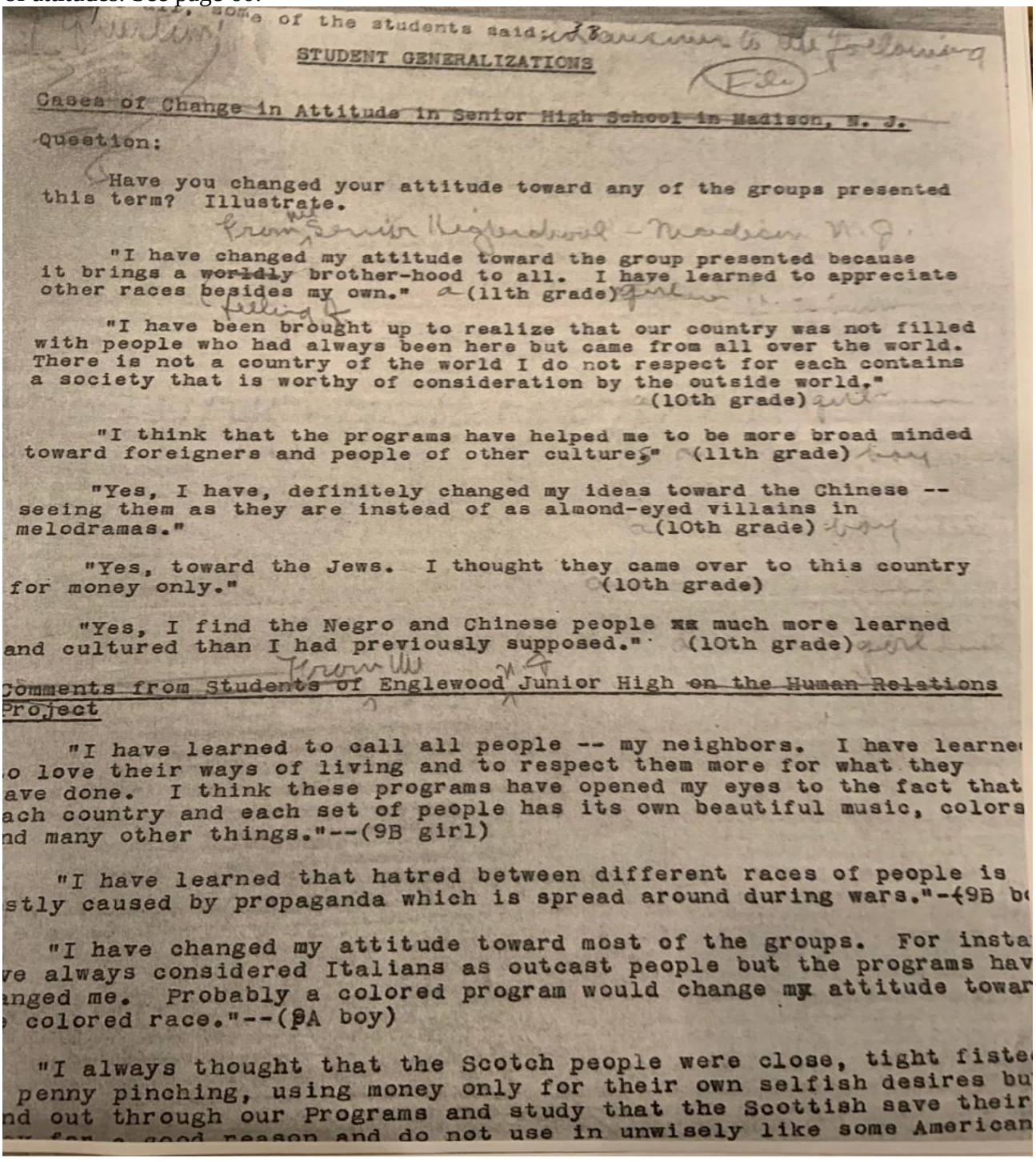
2. Discussion based on reports prepared on Immigration Laws and Chinese as Citizens.

3. Reading or telling the Story of "Lue Gim Gong."

4. Assign:- for a Bird's-eye view of Chinese History -
   a. Stories of Legendary or Mythical History (First 10 chapters of Seegers "Pageant of Chinese

Appendix E

Students were given questionnaires in order to gather their comments on their possible change of attitudes. See page 60.



Some of the students said:

STUDENT GENERALIZATIONS

Cases of Change in Attitude in Senior High School in Madison, N. J.

Question:

Have you changed your attitude toward any of the groups presented this term? Illustrate.

"I have changed my attitude toward the group presented because it brings a worldly brother-hood to all. I have learned to appreciate other races besides my own." (11th grade)

"I have been brought up to realize that our country was not filled with people who had always been here but came from all over the world. There is not a country of the world I do not respect for each contains a society that is worthy of consideration by the outside world." (10th grade)

"I think that the programs have helped me to be more broad minded toward foreigners and people of other cultures." (11th grade)

"Yes, I have, definitely changed my ideas toward the Chinese -- seeing them as they are instead of as almond-eyed villains in melodramas." (10th grade)

"Yes, toward the Jews. I thought they came over to this country for money only." (10th grade)

"Yes, I find the Negro and Chinese people much more learned and cultured than I had previously supposed." (10th grade)

Comments from Students of Englewood Junior High on the Human Relations Project

"I have learned to call all people -- my neighbors. I have learne o love their ways of living and to respect them more for what they ave done. I think these programs have opened my eyes to the fact that ach country and each set of people has its own beautiful music, colors nd many other things."--(9B girl)

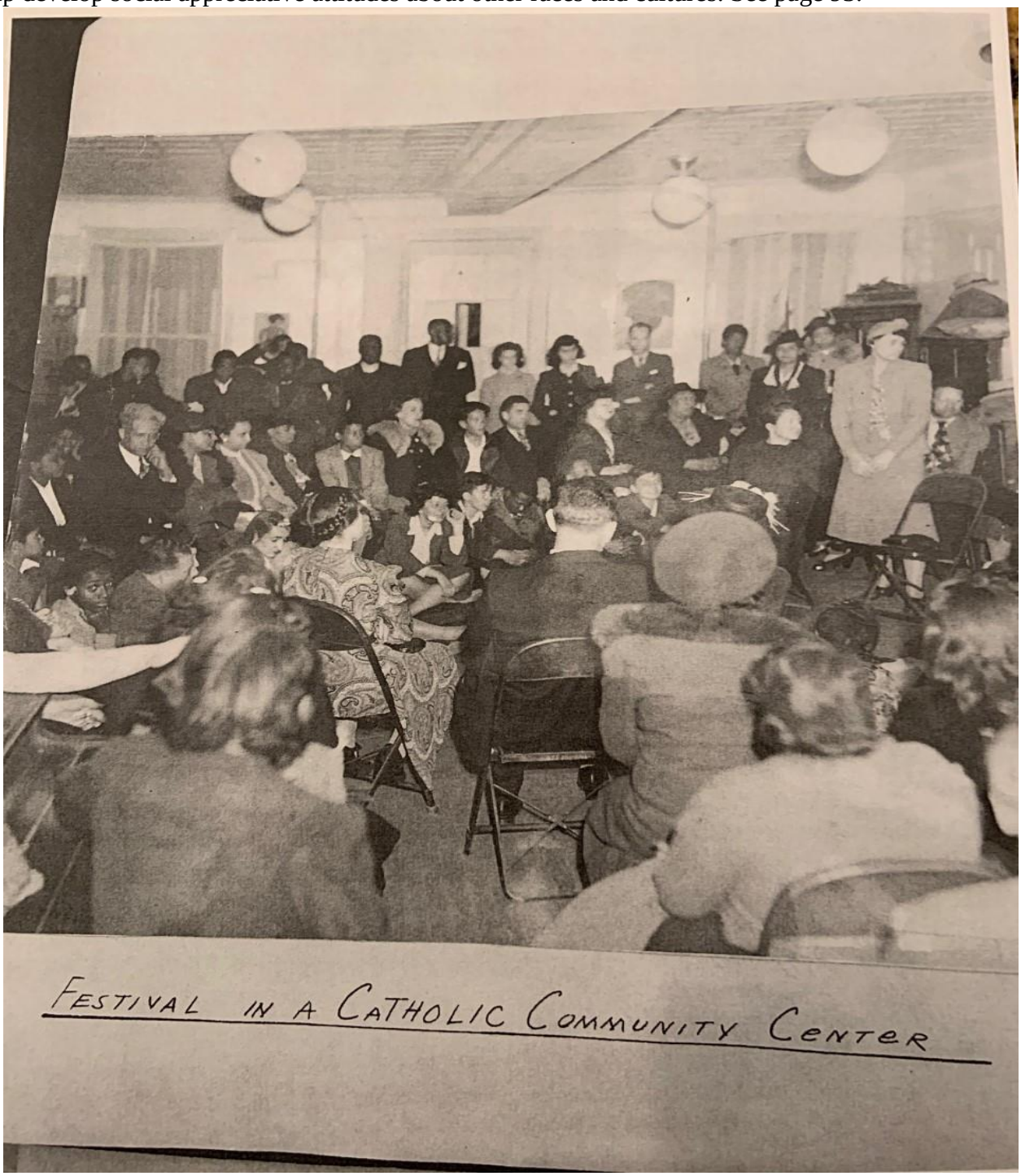
"I have learned that hatred between different races of people is stly caused by propaganda which is spread around during wars."-(9B b

"I have changed my attitude toward most of the groups. For insta ve always considered Italians as outcast people but the programs hav nged me. Probably a colored program would change my attitude towar colored race."--(9A boy)

"I always thought that the Scotch people were close, tight fiste penny pinching, using money only for their own selfish desires bu nd out through our Programs and study that the Scottish save their for a good reason and do not use in unwisely like some American

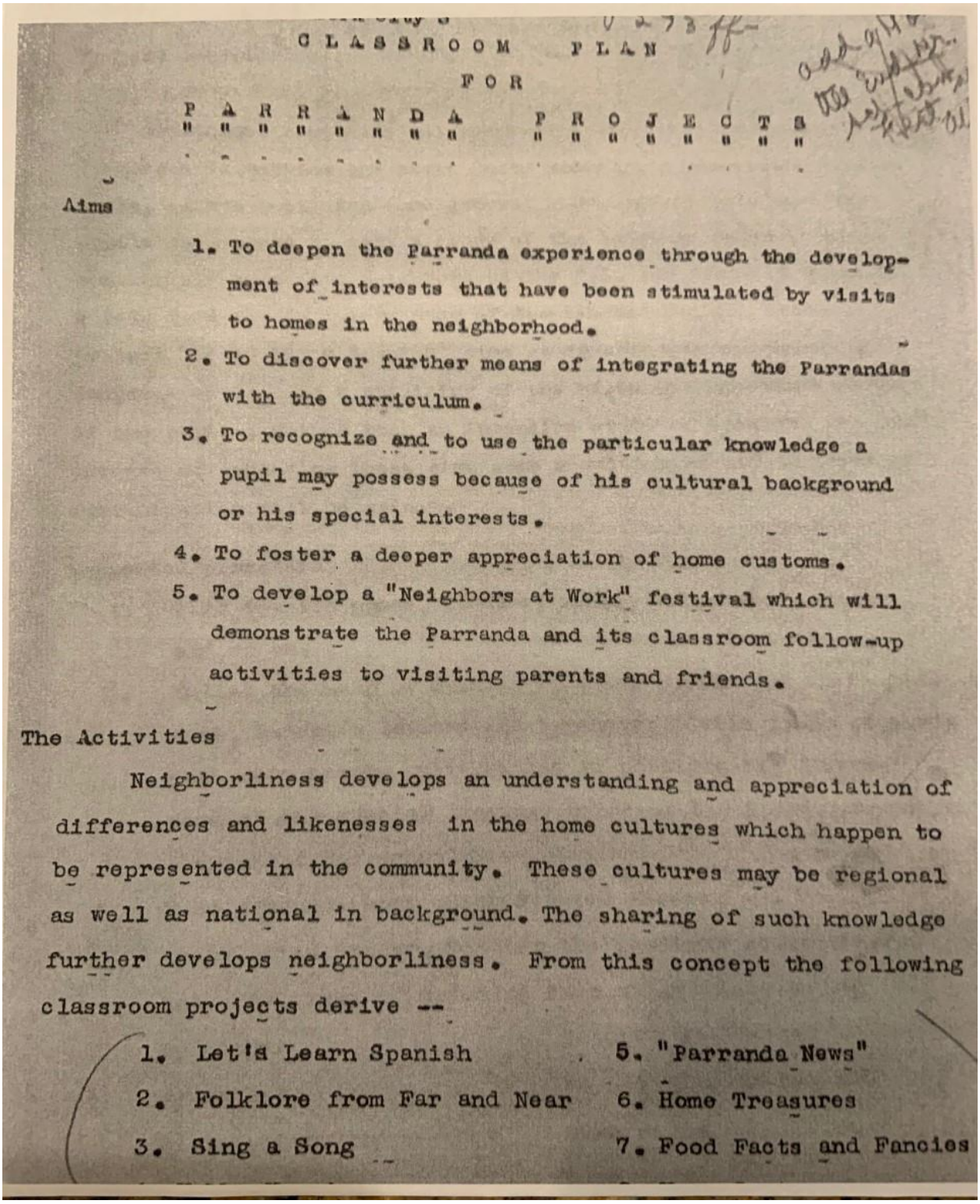
Appendix F

DuBois created the Neighborhood Home festival concept which helped to train community leaders, activists, and teachers in the training to provide practical educational experiences that help develop social appreciative attitudes about other races and cultures. See page 93.



Appendix G

Classroom plan for Parranda Project. See page 95.



CLASSROOM PLAN

FOR

PARRANDA PROJECTS

Aims

1. To deepen the Parranda experience through the development of interests that have been stimulated by visits to homes in the neighborhood.
2. To discover further means of integrating the Parrandas with the curriculum.
3. To recognize and to use the particular knowledge a pupil may possess because of his cultural background or his special interests.
4. To foster a deeper appreciation of home customs.
5. To develop a "Neighbors at Work" festival which will demonstrate the Parranda and its classroom follow-up activities to visiting parents and friends.

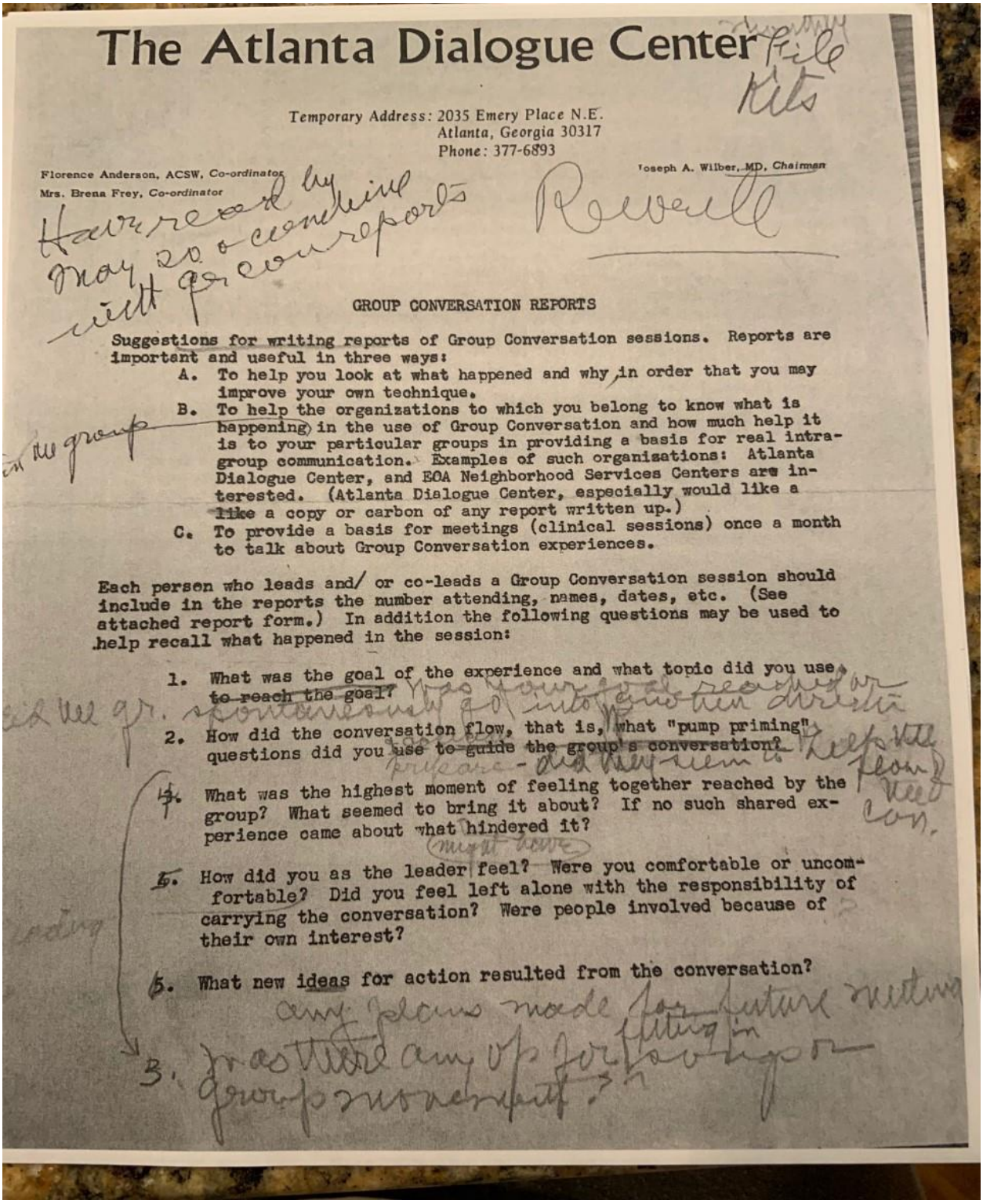
The Activities

Neighborliness develops an understanding and appreciation of differences and likenesses in the home cultures which happen to be represented in the community. These cultures may be regional as well as national in background. The sharing of such knowledge further develops neighborliness. From this concept the following classroom projects derive --

1. Let's Learn Spanish
2. Folklore from Far and Near
3. Sing a Song
5. "Parranda News"
6. Home Treasures
7. Food Facts and Fancies

Appendix H

Report on the Atlanta Dialogue Center Group Conversation sessions. See Page 116.



The Atlanta Dialogue Center

Temporary Address: 2035 Emery Place N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30317
Phone: 377-6893

Florence Anderson, ACSW, Co-ordinator
Mrs. Brena Frey, Co-ordinator

Joseph A. Wilber, MD, Chairman

GROUP CONVERSATION REPORTS

Suggestions for writing reports of Group Conversation sessions. Reports are important and useful in three ways:

A. To help you look at what happened and why in order that you may improve your own technique.

B. To help the organizations to which you belong to know what is happening in the use of Group Conversation and how much help it is to your particular groups in providing a basis for real intra-group communication. Examples of such organizations: Atlanta Dialogue Center, and EOA Neighborhood Services Centers are interested. (Atlanta Dialogue Center, especially would like a like a copy or carbon of any report written up.)

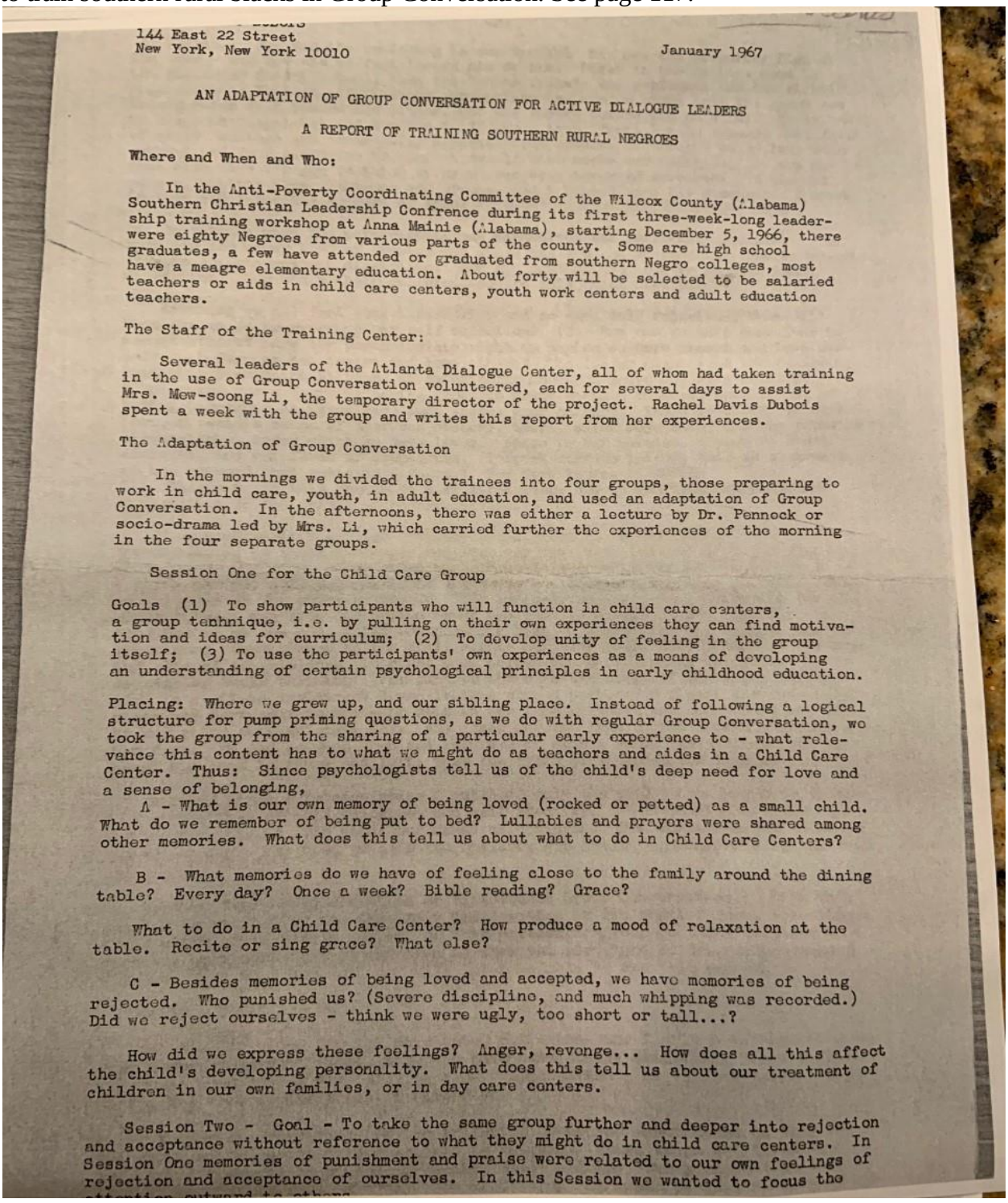
C. To provide a basis for meetings (clinical sessions) once a month to talk about Group Conversation experiences.

Each person who leads and/ or co-leads a Group Conversation session should include in the reports the number attending, names, dates, etc. (See attached report form.) In addition the following questions may be used to help recall what happened in the session:

1. What was the goal of the experience and what topic did you use to reach the goal?
2. How did the conversation flow, that is, what "pump priming" questions did you use to guide the group's conversation?
3. What was the highest moment of feeling together reached by the group? What seemed to bring it about? If no such shared experience came about what hindered it?
4. How did you as the leader feel? Were you comfortable or uncomfortable? Did you feel left alone with the responsibility of carrying the conversation? Were people involved because of their own interest?
5. What new ideas for action resulted from the conversation?

Appendix I

DuBois and her partner in Mrs. Mew-Soong Li, worked with leaders of the Atlanta Dia logue Center to train southern rural blacks in Group Conversation. See page 117.



144 East 22 Street
New York, New York 10010

January 1967

AN ADAPTATION OF GROUP CONVERSATION FOR ACTIVE DIALOGUE LEADERS

A REPORT OF TRAINING SOUTHERN RURAL NEGROES

Where and When and Who:

In the Anti-Poverty Coordinating Committee of the Wilcox County (Alabama) Southern Christian Leadership Confrence during its first three-week-long leadership training workshop at Anna Mainie (Alabama), starting December 5, 1966, there were eighty Negroes from various parts of the county. Some are high school graduates, a few have attended or graduated from southern Negro colleges, most have a meagre elementary education. About forty will be selected to be salaried teachers or aids in child care centers, youth work centers and adult education teachers.

The Staff of the Training Center:

Several leaders of the Atlanta Dialogue Center, all of whom had taken training in the use of Group Conversation volunteered, each for several days to assist Mrs. Mew-soong Li, the temporary director of the project. Rachel Davis Dubois spent a week with the group and writes this report from her experiences.

The Adaptation of Group Conversation

In the mornings we divided the trainees into four groups, those preparing to work in child care, youth, in adult education, and used an adaptation of Group Conversation. In the afternoons, there was either a lecture by Dr. Pennock or socio-drama led by Mrs. Li, which carried further the experiences of the morning in the four separate groups.

Session One for the Child Care Group

Goals (1) To show participants who will function in child care centers, a group tenhnique, i.e. by pulling on their own experiences they can find motivation and ideas for curriculum; (2) To develop unity of feeling in the group itself; (3) To use the participants' own experiences as a means of developing an understanding of certain psychological principles in early childhood education.

Placing: Where we grew up, and our sibling place. Instead of following a logical structure for pump priming questions, as we do with regular Group Conversation, we took the group from the sharing of a particular early experience to - what relevance this content has to what we might do as teachers and aides in a Child Care Center. Thus: Since psychologists tell us of the child's deep need for love and a sense of belonging,

A - What is our own memory of being loved (rocked or petted) as a small child. What do we remember of being put to bed? Lullabies and prayers were shared among other memories. What does this tell us about what to do in Child Care Centers?

B - What memories do we have of feeling close to the family around the dining table? Every day? Once a week? Bible reading? Grace?

What to do in a Child Care Center? How produce a mood of relaxation at the table. Recite or sing grace? What else?

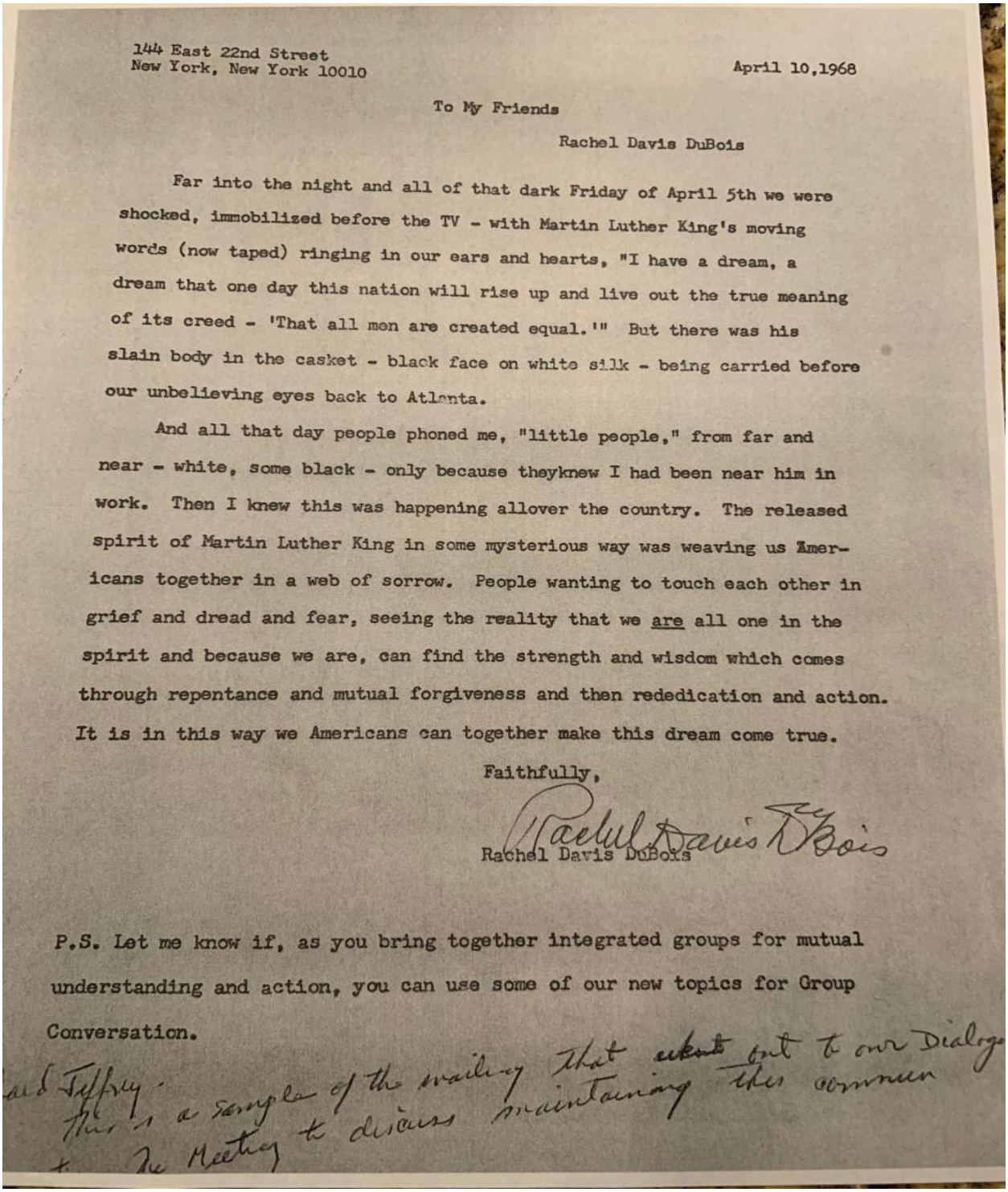
C - Besides memories of being loved and accepted, we have memories of being rejected. Who punished us? (Severe discipline, and much whipping was recorded.) Did we reject ourselves - think we were ugly, too short or tall...?

How did we express these feelings? Anger, revenge... How does all this affect the child's developing personality. What does this tell us about our treatment of children in our own families, or in day care centers.

Session Two - Goal - To take the same group further and deeper into rejection and acceptance without reference to what they might do in child care centers. In Session One memories of punishment and praise were related to our own feelings of rejection and acceptance of ourselves. In this Session we wanted to focus the

Appendix J

Post King assassination letter to Group Conversation workers. See page 117.



144 East 22nd Street
New York, New York 10010

April 10,1968

To My Friends

Rachel Davis DuBois

Far into the night and all of that dark Friday of April 5th we were shocked, immobilized before the TV - with Martin Luther King's moving words (now taped) ringing in our ears and hearts, "I have a dream, a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed - 'That all men are created equal.'" But there was his slain body in the casket - black face on white silk - being carried before our unbelieving eyes back to Atlanta.

And all that day people phoned me, "little people," from far and near - white, some black - only because theyknew I had been near him in work. Then I knew this was happening allover the country. The released spirit of Martin Luther King in some mysterious way was weaving us Americans together in a web of sorrow. People wanting to touch each other in grief and dread and fear, seeing the reality that we <u>are</u> all one in the spirit and because we are, can find the strength and wisdom which comes through repentance and mutual forgiveness and then rededication and action. It is in this way we Americans can together make this dream come true.

Faithfully,

Rachel Davis DuBois

Rachel Davis DuBois

P.S. Let me know if, as you bring together integrated groups for mutual understanding and action, you can use some of our new topics for Group Conversation.

and Jeffrey:
This is a sample of the mailing that went out to our Dialog
+ the Meeting to discuss maintaining this commun